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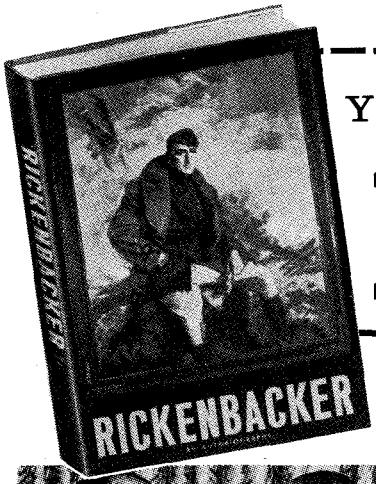

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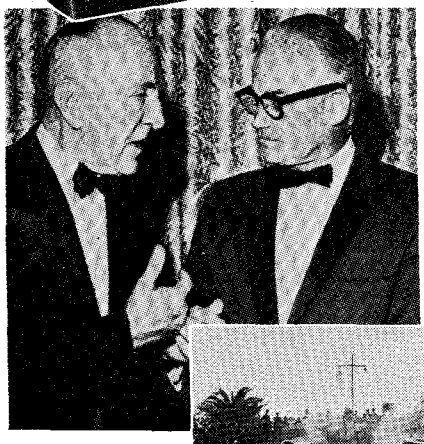

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IN • THIS • ISSUE

➔Merry Christmas! Which we hereby celebrate, after our fashion. One of the ancient inside jokes around this solemn journal pertains to the editors' annual urge to publish their plangent deploration of the over-commercialization of Christmas—an urge annually frustrated by the Promotion Department's annual concern for the over-fulfillment of its Christmas Promotion Scheme. Anyway: the Rev. **Harold O. J. Brown** takes a long look at the American religio-politico-commercial Christmas and concludes that it represents in fact the only moral system this country has. Cheers! . . . It was our custom, over a period of eleven years, to publish a Christmas piece by **Aloise Heath,** who died in January. Readers wrote in at that time to make the suggestion that for a while, anyway, we continue the practice, running some of her earlier pieces. Very well. We republish a piece which, our actuaries inform us, only 20 per cent or so of you have read before. Even if you have, we warrant it will make your Christmas merrier.

➔**Colm Brogan** reports from London on the impending political eradication of Foreign Secretary George Brown, a crude, unbalanced, but canny clown who was useful as a diversionary butt when Harold Wilson was riding high, but who, in the hour of Britain's deepest humiliation, is merely one additional painful reminder of the dregs she has turned to for leadership. . . . . Editor **C. H. Simonds** of *NR* and artist **Joseph Papin** celebrate the season in good old Scrooge tradition, ticking off a few dozen people who, for one reason or another, have got in over their depth.

➔**James Burnham** came across a fascinating item in the London *Times* recently. Seems the P. & O. Lines will schedule all 1968 sailings around the Cape, avoiding the Suez Canal entirely. . . . **Russell Kirk** has no patience with Dr. Michael Scriven, professor of confusion at the University of California. Scriven and a few sidekicks are ganging up on the tradition of heterosexual monogamy, and Professor Kirk consigns their notions to the damned. . . . Would you believe **Alec Waugh,** soap opera buff? Verily, he hath gone and got himself hooked on "The Secret Storm" (Channel 2, at 2100Z), and life is just as real as television.

➔George F. Kennan's *Memoirs* stir **William S. Schlamm** to astonishing perceptions of the intellectual catatonia of American liberals. . . . **Hugh Kenner,** the renowned critic (the late T. S. Eliot considered him one of the best ever), evaluates the recently collected poems of Marianne Moore and W. H. Auden. They both come out swinging, but at the end only Marianne is left standing. . . . As a rule NATIONAL REVIEW forgoes the pleasure of reviewing bestsellers, but when they're written by editors' kin, we relax a bit: herewith **William F. Rickenbacker** on Captain Eddie's great autobiography. . . . You'll be happy to know that New York City, between muggings, has evolved into a "cultural showcase" in recent weeks, thanks to several piles of sculpture recently put on view. **Ruth Berenson,** having tramped through the galleries, reports that the sculpture of industrial countries is very much of a piece, and rather dull in fact; but that Picasso, at 87, is still the jazziest.➔

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LETTERS

'Fine Irish Hand'

As a faithful although not invariably approving reader of NATIONAL REVIEW, may I comment on and correct your editorial on my recent Vietnam proposals [Nov. 28] in two or three minor respects.

1) I was asked by the *New York Times* to write the article. Is theirs really a "fine Irish hand"?

2) The admittedly immodest title, "The Galbraith Plan," etc. was, in accordance with usual practice, the creation of the editors. But, being vain, I might not have objected had I known. Who can say?

3) "Ourself," as applied idiomatically to the collective entity of the United States is evidently preferred by some stylists. I agree that "ourselves" is more graceful and I used this form in the pamphlet reproducing the article. You are right to ask attention to such matters.

4) I cannot imagine Robert Kennedy being so ill-advised as to suggest I should write or not write anything whatever. Were he to do so, I would give his request the same consideration, not more nor less, than one from your distinguished and eloquent editor. To be exact, Senator Kennedy first knew of the article when it appeared.

5) As you noted, I did say that the Administration relies increasingly on the support of conservatives and the military. I assume that your decision not to differ with my proposals is to be explained less by your general agreement than by your reluctance to prove me right.

Cambridge, Mass. JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH

Regarding the fine Irish hand of Professor Galbraith, please be advised that the Irish have traditionally backed losing causes. A casual glance at their history vividly points this out not only at the international level in their flirtations with continental powers, but in domestic politics when they had the privilege of being British subjects. They consistently bet the wrong horse.

It was because of this steady bad luck that most Irishmen emigrated from their green island. Unfortunately a good number of them did not leave their faulty judgment behind as can be readily evidenced in this fourteen-point plan of the good professor.

Bremerton, Wash. T. M. RYAN

The "fine Irish hand," as Professor Galbraith's letter perceives, was not JKG's but RFK's. Professor Galbraith is of course Scottish. Perhaps the professor was led by an Invisible Hand? —ED.

Why Did Shirley Lose?

Aren't you reading something into the defeat of Shirley Temple Black and, at the same time, not revealing all to your readers? The reasons you give in "The Week" [Nov. 28], I believe, are not necessarily the right ones.

You state that McCloskey was an unknown. Nationally, yes—but don't forget that this was a local congressional district political race. Mrs. Black's popularity was weighed and found wanting in this instance. Yes, George Murphy was elected to the U.S. Senate over Pierre; however, there was a certain voter resistance in this case and they just didn't want Pierre coming in uninvited and taking over. Yes, Ronald Reagan was elected over Pat; however, the voters finally awakened after eight years of a bumbling administration and decided to put in someone who had some semblance of organization.

As for Mrs. Black's hawkishness being against her—what about the vote of the people in San Francisco (just to the north of her district) on the question of the Administration's handling of the war in Vietnam? Could there be such a great difference in the population's thinking in these two areas of the Peninsula?

Houston, Tex. J. E. COLSON

"Democratic County Chairman Arlen Gregorio estimated that 30,000-35,000 votes cast for Republicans, almost all for McCloskey, were Democratic cross-overs. . . . Supporting evidence: registered Democrats outnumbered Republicans by 118,000 to 97,000 but the leading Democrat, Roy Archibald, polled only 15,000. Archibald indeed charged . . . that McCloskey's campaign concentrated on Democratic precincts. . . . However you slice it, Mrs. Black got more Republican votes than McCloskey."—NR Bulletin, Dec. 5. —ED.

Blood on the Steps

Re "The Week" [Nov. 28]. My opportunity to speak with one of the students who threw blood on the steps of the Iowa Memorial Union, University of Iowa, during the visit of USMC recruiters resulted in the following exchange:

I: "Wouldn't your blood be put to better use if you gave it to the International Red Cross?"

He (pausing for a moment from showing an admiring coed the puncture wounds in his forearms): "What? And have them give it to some damn Marine!"

I suppose this is a logical outcome of an unwavering dedication to principle.

Iowa City, Iowa MICHAEL L. THALL

GOP Ladies and Youth

To Whom It May Concern:

1) Neither NATIONAL REVIEW nor YAF has ever contacted me for information or verification of statements which they allege were made by me [Oct. 17].

2) To the best of my information education is compulsory in all states—in California to age eighteen, or graduation from high school, and I have never before heard these laws interpreted as "fascist" or "totalitarian."

3) I have never advocated government-run education camps or that students live in barracks, or that the Federal Government should in any way control education. I am completely opposed to such control.

4) The substance of the idea expressed focused on the tremendous number of young people who leave high school every year with neither the grades nor funds to go to college, and who have no training to enable them to earn a living. I suggested an additional two-year course at the junior college level toward developing skills and equipping young men to become self-supporting in the area of their choice and talents. . . .

5) The above thoughts were in no way represented as a Republican or a Federation program. It was explained to the audience that this was not a formalized program, but suggestions to stimulate thinking about one of the nation's most critical problems, the safeguarding of youth, and de-escalation of the crime rate among young people.

Washington, D.C. GLADYS O'DONNELL
President-elect
National Federation of
Republican Women

Von Dreele and Israel

I have enjoyed W. H. von Dreele's hard-hitting verses in NATIONAL REVIEW for some time now. My reason for writing concerns his occasional poetic forays against the establishment of the State of Israel and its Foreign Minister, Eban. I fail to see how anyone can hold a brief for Syria and Egypt although he apparently does. Jordan may have merited sympathy but chucked that by not staying neutral when it had the chance in June.

The supposed influence of Mr. Eban upon our foreign policy was certainly not borne out by the attempt of the State Department and the White House to bug out on promises made to Israel on free navigation in that area on condition that the Israelis abandon their conquests made in 1956.

If Mr. von Dreele feels a poetic inspiration coming on re the Middle East how about a few lines directed at those

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demagogues in Cairo and Damascus who are plainly responsible for keeping the pot boiling?

Bronx, N.Y. GEORGE RUBIN

A Reply

I'm delighted Mr. Rubin finds my verse hard-hitting. Let me discuss briefly the two pieces I did on Israel.

In "Napalm For Cairo?" I note the strange double standard writers such as James Wechsler, Tom Wicker and Walter Lippmann maintain for North Vietnam, against Egypt-Syria-Jordan. They believe that to napalm Hanoi is uncivilized and repugnant. But to have dropped napalm on Damascus, Cairo and Amman would, one feels, have sent them into ecstasy. I find this "very, very curious."

As to "Understanding the Holy Land," I belong to an admittedly small band which believes the Balfour Declaration to have been an unfortunate exercise in romanticism. As you know, a respectable argument can be (and is being) made to support this point. However, Israel exists, and I am the first to admit that to be anti-Zionist today is rather like supporting the return of the Stuart kings.

Finally, I hold no brief for Syria or Egypt. On the contrary, I am disturbed about the possibilities opened up to the Soviet Union by these countries—along with Yemen, South Yemen and Algeria—to secure bases in that part of the world. I am distressed that President de Gaulle has cut off spare parts for the French-equipped Israeli Air Force. And, one of these days, I shall try a foray against one of the offending Arabs: most probably, Boumedienne of Algeria.

New York, N.Y. W. H. VON DREELE

Who or Whom, Cont.

Re The Great Who/Whom Controversy, the subject of an infinitive is indeed in the accusative case—*except* if the infinitive is copulative. So Mr. Burnham is right. It should be "who," because "to be" is implied.

Pelham Manor, N.Y. NEIL MCCAFFREY

From a Russian Exile

My friend has brought me the magazine NATIONAL REVIEW. ["Fifty Years of Soviet Communism," Oct. 31]. I do not speak or read English. My daughter translated all of it for me. The magazine is splendid, both in contents and in illustrations.

I have asked my friend to get hold of another copy for me, which I have sent to Washington so that the authorities there can read it. This remarkable magazine opens many eyes and especially those of the fools who tear up their draft cards and organize their mothers to protest against the war in Vietnam. Many thanks! You stand at the guard post defending us against the plans of the Communists. With sincere compliments,

North Miami, Fla. N. ZUBKOV

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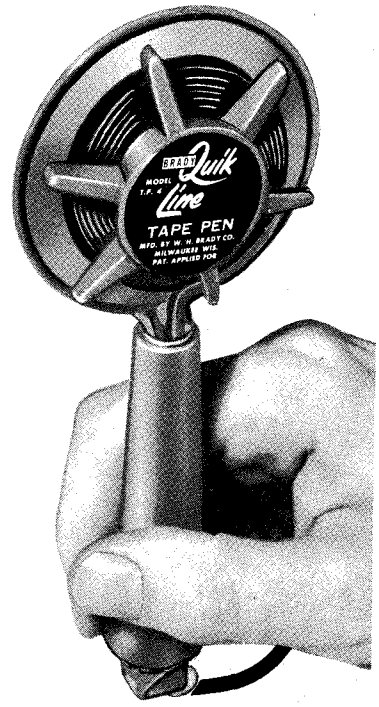

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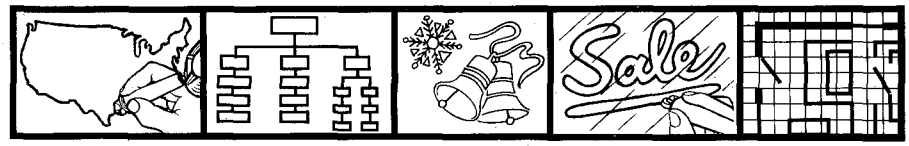

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The WEEK

● We missed it first time around, but a friend caught it and shipped it to us—that glorious Hymn of Joy sung by SecLab Wirtz in reply to a story published early in November in the *Wall Street Journal* on the deteriorating morale of federal employees. Washington, far from a Slough of Despond, positively overflows with "the feeling of being, each of us, a little part of the greatest achievement in man's eternal questioning. We're proud to work for America—under the leadership of Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey." Sorta gets ya right *here,* don't it?

● The U.S. per capita yearly tax burden (all levels of government) was $364 in 1950. In 1955 it was $537, in 1960 $709, in 1965 $858. It's about $1,048 in 1967.

● SecState Dean Rusk had some amazingly tough words to throw at the recent AFL-CIO convention in Florida. He said the U.S. was in Vietnam to stop Communist aggression (not even Army Generals are allowed to say that). He said that to ignore the Communist threat in Vietnam was like ignoring Hitler before 1941. He said that war-protesters who "deprive other people of the public platform" are like Hitler's Storm Troopers. If you missed the item in the daily press, don't feel bad. We almost missed it too—until we got to the very bottom of an article in the December 9 *N.Y. Times.* The headline was: "Wirtz Sees Labor Easing Color Line."

● Okay, just what *is* George Wallace? A typical nasty conservative, say the liberals. A populist demagogue, said Frank Meyer in *NR* months ago. And now: "A flaming liberal," said Florida's Gov. Claude R. Kirk, who went on to note that "all [Wallace] did was spend, spend, spend. And he was the first one in line for the federal handouts in Washington. . . . He stands up and says he would put 30,000 policemen in Washington to protect against demonstrators, but . . . the record of crime in Alabama is worse than it's ever been." Which proves, if it proves nothing else, that Wallace is an ambiguous figure and that he faces a strong challenge from a mainstream Republican in his own Southland.

● The Annual Ball of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee was held last week in New York's Americana Hotel. The master of ceremonies was John Henry Faulk, the television fellow who made a fortune in the law (he had been accused of Communist leanings; he denied it to the Court's satisfaction, and his). All the good people were there—you know, the brave Corliss Lamont types who formed the ECLC in 1951 in protest against the ACLU's requirement that officers swear non-Communist oaths. And the Ghost of Civil Liberties Past was there, too: one Ralph Hendricks, who, upon being introduced, proceeded to harangue his fellow protestors for failing to put their money where their mouth was. Whereupon the ECLC brass (Faulk, Lamont & Co.) tried to shut him up. He started ranting against white people. One white person, a refugee from Nazi Germany, said he had seen that kind of racism before and didn't like it. Nevertheless, this was the Civil Liberties Annual Ball, no? So, ranting and shoving, accusing each other of Nazism, racism, blackism, whitism, and non-money-where-the-mouth-ism, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee created yet one more emergency for the forces of civility and liberty.

● You might mark Sunday, December 10, 1967, as the beginning of the commercial career of atomic energy. On that day, in northwest New Mexico, a pretty big shot was tripped about a mile underground. It gouged a cavity the size of a good skyscraper and filled it with crushed rock. That formation, known as a "chimney," will allow underground natural gas to escape into a drilled bore—and the El Paso Natural Gas Company, co-partner with the AEC, will have inaugurated a new and inexpensive way to explore underground resources. Congrats all around, and especially congrats to those leftist-pacifist-beatnik types who failed, year after year, to stop this country's nuclear testing programs. Yes, flower doctor Spock and flower editor Cousins and flower child Allen, there is a perfectly sane nuclear policy, and it's ours.

● Europe and America are buzzing with rumors about major changes in the international monetary system. Major changes of some sort, sooner or later, can be predicted with certainty: there is indeed a time when the U.S. gold supply will run out, there is indeed a time when the U.S. can no longer make purchases overseas with paper dollars no one wants, there is indeed a time when an inflation-addicted world must decide between 1) closing down all gold mines, 2) subsidizing the gold producers, and 3) raising the price of gold. One might add, for theoretical completeness, 4) a massive deflation, involving the repudiation of thousands of wage and price contracts, the abolition of governmental price-fixing programs, bankruptcies by the thousands—in short, a bit of a bind. Not one choice looks really happy.

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Disorderly and spastic markets are clearly in the offing. Liquid funds seeking shelter from disorder get converted into solid wealth (*die Flucht in die Sachwerte*). That is what's behind the tremendous bull markets in gold, silver, platinum, mercury, copper.

● An editor of *NR* got a vivid impression of the narcotics problem last week when he received two items through the mail: 1) A copy of a parish circular written by his friend, a minister in the Midwest, advising his flock that narcotics are in use at the local high school, and suggesting that the young be sat down and given a bit of hard straight talk. 2) A letter from the headmaster of the private school where the editor's children study, advising that narcotics have been in use here too, and concluding: "Therefore, effective immediately, smoking privileges for all students have been suspended at the School and at School-sponsored functions. It is our hope that all parents will be especially alert for evidence that their child has possession of marijuana or other drugs." These are not easy times to be rearing children.

● Allan Shivers, the conservative former governor of Texas, has been speechifying around the country in his present role as president of the Chamber of Commerce. Most C of C presidents act a little jobskeered: turn solemn: use long words: do the elder statesman bit. Not Shivers. He's wading in where too many businessmen fear to tread, lambasting the government for over-regulation, waste, inflation, and the Seven Deadly Sins. His latest cannonade, loosed in Denver on December 6, entitled "Brother, You May Be Next!" is vintage hellfire and brimstone. The C of C, Washington, D.C., will be glad to send you a copy.

● Stokely Carmichael flew back to his native land after five months guest-starring round the world on the wars-of-national-liberation circuit. He lost his passport for having traveled without authorization to Cuba and North Vietnam, but supporters were on hand to cheer him with cries of "Bang, bang. Beep, beep. Ungawa, black power," which is the level of discourse set in motion by Stokely wherever he goes. In Harlem he met privately with Rap Brown. An aide turned aside reporters by saying, "We'll let you know when we'll talk." Beep, beep.

● Have you noticed? The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is dead. Its headquarters are shut. The telephones are disconnected (unpaid bills, you know). The newsletter it used to publish hasn't appeared since last August or so, when it fretted about "international Jewish conspiracies."

● Mr. Bruno Leoni, Italian, economist, businessman, was elected President of the Mt. Pelerin Society at its last meeting, after a distinguished career as a writer and libertarian. He had been with the Society from its early years, and his recognition as president at the age of 45 was a tribute to his special talents. Several weeks ago he disappeared. He was found six days later, his head bashed into a concrete wall by a rent-collector he had caught cheating. The murderer is at large. The community of freemarket scholars is in mourning.

● Our man in Biafra writes: Despite the sympathy of Mad Mike Hoare, the mercenary leader, and of Crazy Conor Cruise O'Brien, the cause of the secessionists in Eastern Nigeria prospers obscurely. The bizarre mission from the Organization for African Unity has aparently made up its mind in favor of the Nigerian federal Government without putting its corporate nose outside the Federal capital of Lagos. Moreover, the Biafrans have not entirely recovered their capital of Enugu—though they still date their press releases therefrom—but they have recovered Soviet-made arms from Nigerian prisoners. And the other day they claimed to have shot down a Russian-built Nigerian jet fighter which was attempting a daring raid on the Itu Leprosy Settlement. How typically Nigerian can you get?

● PROFESSORIAL COURTESY DEPT.: Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. wrote a nasty letter to Robert Haney, the Allston Burr Senior Tutor of Adams House (Harvard), following Harvard's admonition against the rowdy student protest over Dow Chemical's job offers. Haney is quoted in the *Crimson*: "I'm sorry he wrote the letter. . . . it is a very intemperate and basically silly document. I must say it's typical of Arthur to do this." Ah, but one can always strive to emulate its eloquence.

● An organization known as "Another Mother for Peace" spent the pre-Christmas weeks lining up signatures and selling peacenik greeting cards. On its literature it announced: "Remember! You don't have to be a mother to send these cards!"

The Senator to the Young Reporter

The old senator leaned back in his upholstered chair and peered at the young reporter from under bushy eyebrows.

"All over but the shouting? We-el, no, son, I wouldn't say that; no indeed. Trouble is, so few people in this world take the trouble to *count*. And when they *do* count, most of 'em don't count very well.

"There'll be 1,333 delegates present when the Re-

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publican convention meets in Miami Beach next August. That means somebody has got to get 667 votes to win the Presidential nomination. Right?

"Now the first thing to notice is that there are going to be a heck of a lot of favorite sons on that first ballot or so. The way it looks now, there will be favorite sons in Arkansas (18 votes—Winthrop Rockefeller), California (86—Reagan), Colorado (18—one of their senators), Florida (34—Kirk), Illinois (58—Percy), Kentucky (24—Morton, or maybe Nunn), Maine (14—Margaret Smith), Massachusetts (34—Volpe), Michigan (48—Romney), Missouri (24—Curtis), New Jersey (40—Case), New York (92—Nelson Rockefeller), Ohio (58—Rhodes), Oklahoma (22—Bartlett), Pennsylvania (64—Shafer) and Texas (56—Tower).

"Now, unless the laws of mathematics are declared unconstitutional, that means that neither Nixon nor anybody else is going to win on the first ballot, or probably the second, because over 700 votes will be tied up in favorite-son candidacies, waiting to see what develops.

"Okay. Now let's suppose the gloves start coming off around the second or third ballot. What do we see? Well, one of the first things we'll see is the emergence of a sizable bloc of votes under liberal control. Note I said 'sizable,' not controlling. The liberal Republicans just don't have the strength to control a Republican convention these days; but they do have very substantial blocs of votes, and by the second or third ballot they will start coalescing around somebody—probably Nelson Rockefeller.

"Whoever it is, that fellow can count on most of the delegates from Arkansas (18), Connecticut (16), Delaware (12), Hawaii (14), Maryland (24), Massachusetts (34), Michigan (48), Minnesota (26), New Jersey (40), New York (92), North Dakota (8), Rhode Island (14), the District of Columbia (9), the Virgin Islands (3) and Puerto Rico (3). He won't get *all* of those, mind you, but he'll get the great majority; and he'll make up any losses by picking up delegates in states like Alaska (which has 12 votes), Iowa (24), Washington (24) and West Virginia (14), plus the aforementioned Colorado and Kentucky—all of which are likely to scatter their delegates all over the place. So you've got to figure that Rockefeller (or the liberal's choice, whoever it is) will have at least 360 votes in that convention.

"Now, where will the other 970 delegates be leaning? About 150 will be in pretty solid Reagan delegations: a Western bloc consisting of California (86), Idaho (14), Nevada (12) and Wyoming (12), plus South Carolina (22). About the same number will be in almost equally solid Nixon delegations: Alabama (26), Arizona (16), Indiana (26), Mississippi (20), South Dakota (14) and Vermont (12), plus New Hampshire (8) and Wisconsin (34) if (as I assume) he wins the primaries there.

"Another big group of delegations will turn out to be internally divided between Nixon and Reagan, once the lesser favorite sons are out of the way and the serious voting has begun. This group will include Colorado (18 votes, less any that are for Rocky), Florida (34), Georgia (30), Iowa (24, minus whatever the liberals have), Kentucky (24, ditto), Kansas (20), Louisiana (26), Missouri (24), Montana (14), New Mexico (14), North Carolina (26), Oklahoma (22), Tennessee (28) and Virginia (24). Call it 330 votes, and add another 40 or so from the basically liberal or scattered delegations I mentioned first.

"Split those 370 delegates down the middle between Nixon and Reagan, 185 each, and add them to their respective 150 in their solid states, and what have you got? The liberals still have their 360, and Nixon and Reagan now have 335 apiece. But s'pose I'm dead wrong, which isn't likely, and *all 370* are really for Nixon? Then he has 520—still 147 short of the number needed to nominate.

"What's left? Well, there's Maine, which is quite likely to keep voting for Margaret Smith to the bitter end. There's Utah (8 votes), which has to be scored for Romney if he's the liberal choice (since he's a Mormon), but paradoxically is likely to be for Reagan if the opposition is anyone but Romney. And of course there's Nebraska and Oregon (16 and 18 votes, respectively), which will go to the winners of their respective primaries—whoever he (or they) may be. Nothing, as yet, to alter the over-all picture.

"That brings us down to just four big uncommitted states: Illinois (with 58 votes), Ohio (58), Pennsylvania (64) and Texas (56). Being a conservative, I take some comfort from the fact that three of these cast their votes overwhelmingly for Goldwater in 1964, and that not one of them is dominated by a gung-ho liberal today. Rhodes, Lord knows, is a pro; and so, basically, is Shafer. And when the meeting comes to order in that smoke-filled room, Illinois will be represented by Everett Dirksen—*not* by young

Christmas in New York

Wheezing, sneezing, eyeballs smarting,
Christmas in the city's starting.
What's the mean monoxide rating?
Jing! Jing! Jing! It's *stim*ulating.
See the funny war dissenter
Kick a cop at Lincoln Center;
See how everyone turns waxy . . .
Better call yourself a taxi.
Now it's off to do some shopping;
Now it's homeward, nearly dropping.
With the packages you're lugging,
You're a candidate for mugging.

W. H. VON DREELE

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Percy. As for Texas . . . well," the old senator smiled, "I think Texas can be counted on to do the right thing."

"Now, all these figures are only approximate and subject to change. Besides," with a sly grin, "there are one or two little things I didn't mention because they're not, ahem, public property yet. But that's the broad picture, and that, son, is why I say *nobody* —right, left or center—has got this convention locked up yet."

Reagan's Week

Ronald Reagan spent four days at Yale, as its invited guest, and on the whole Yale behaved like a gentleman. There were no pickets or riots as had been feared; instead the regulation stance was the curled lip, the politely folded arms, the head cocked at a skeptical angle. One professor, not to be restricted to the merely civil leer, pantomimed elaborate distaste to his students behind Reagan's back. In the theater this is called "upstaging," and Yale sure has a swell school of drama, as Reagan, being a professional actor, must surely have known. Being also an astute politician, he stuck to the script and lived to steal the show.

The scene changes. It is a political science class. TV lights are burning. So are the students, some of whom, a suspiciously large number of whom, are hurling loaded questions. Sample: "Do you believe the governors of the other major states have been unwise in failing to veto as many O[ffice of] E[conomic] O[pportunity] grants for their states as you and Lurleen Wallace have done?" The questioner might just as easily have said "you and former Gov. Pat Brown" (who also vetoed such grants), but elected to say "you and Lurleen" just as the Communists are wont to address their enemies as "you and Hitler." The questioners were of course plants, obtruded from Ivy League turf by the society Ripon, those desperadoes of liberal Republicanism. Plants are a standard political tactic not necessarily evil unless it is exposed. Sad to say, a copy of the questions fell into the Governor's hands, as things these days have a way of falling, and he used it on his executioners as he should have—like a club.

"If your old lady is over thirty, man, don't trust her to come through with that motorcycle."

Curtain, cheers. There was in fact a standing ovation at the Yale Political Union, and quite a number of disgruntled reassessments all around. The Eastern press, quick to react, gave Reagan some of the best notices of his life. From New Haven he went on to Hartford, where the Connecticut GOP lay waiting. Reported the liberal *Hartford Courant*: "Anybody who can capture a crowd of hard-bitten politicians . . . . like Reagan did has to be considered on the Presidential first team, and that's where Reagan now is in Connecticut." In Washington, Joseph Kraft burst out with news of Reagan's normalizing influence on California Republican politics. Reagan is a "dekooking agent," Kraft writes, whose ability to unite Republicans has so far kept them from lining up to put George Wallace on the Presidential ballot there. Furthermore, Reagan is flexible; his "oversimplification is not the awful thing so many of his critics imagined"; on the contrary, he has "demonstrated that the concept of the straightforward citizen leader is not all reactionary hot air."

In other words, he's not Lurleen. Understand, Lux? Get it, Veritas?

The Fate of McCarthyism

"What is decisive is the movement that brought forth a candidate to challenge the President, not the particular campaigning characteristics of the candidate . . . . The conditions which helped make him a candidate can mold him as well."

"The Dump-Johnson campaign within the Democratic Party, which is now finding its focus in McCarthy's candidacy, as it gathers momentum in the various primaries . . . will undoubtedly reveal the growing political strength of the peace forces within the party."

"While the press and leading political figures are urging the substitution of electoral activity for mass street action, some on the Left have been belittling electoral activity. But the interrelationship of elec-

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Focus on WASHINGTON

◆ Tinker to Evers to Chance has nothing on the gentlemen from Texas—witness this flaplet, widely ignored in the rush to adjourn before Christmas. It started when Sen. Ralph Yarborough (D., Tex.) introduced legislation—part of that postal rate increase/federal pay raise pie—increasing the retirement pay of Paul Kilday, former congressman from Texas and now judge of the U. S. Court of Military Appeals. Kilday happens to be an old friend of President Johnson's. Later that same week, Johnson appointed Yarborough's son, Richard, to a $26,000-a-year job on the Indian Claims Commission—a body expanded last spring from three members to five, because you know, there are so many more Indians. Two small whistles were blown. Rep. James V. Smith (R., Okla.) reminded the chamber that there really are Indians who really do have claims, and asked if "the Administration regards the Indian Claims Commission so lightly that appointments to that body are used to pay off political debts." H. R. Gross (R., Iowa) blasted Sen. Yarborough's efforts in Kilday's behalf as "special privilege legislation," and noted that Kilday's income will rise from $18,000 a year to $26,000. Local cynics have been heard to remark—recalling the appointment of the husband of a former White House secretary to the Subversive Activities Control Board at $26,000—that that figure is the guaranteed annual wage for friends of the mighty. It is also worth noting that the postal/pay bill has an anti-nepotism clause that extends even unto the President—but it's non-retroactive, and these are hectic days in Washington.

◆ Washington's city government tries, it truly does. But the big decisions are made up on the Hill, by men from distant places, and so the doings of lesser officials sometimes take on a playing-at-government air. Yes, we now have a nine-man Council (instead of a three-man Commission), and even a "Mayor," though the word must be in quotation marks because he's really a Commissioner. We also have a District School Board, which spends the money that the Hill tosses its way, and squabbles. Latest squabble is over the installation of the new Superintendent of Schools, William R. Manning. Symbolic ceremonies were to be held on the Howard University campus; because of limited space, attendance was to be by invitation only. That outraged Julius Hobson, a local Black Power type who has never found it hard to be outraged by the School Board. Hobson promised to bust up the installation ceremonies—and the Board, scared to death and divided against itself, didn't know *what* to do. Some members wanted to stand firm and go ahead, but the majority prevailed and the whole thing was dropped, with apologies to those who had received engraved invitations. At one point, a Board member said of the Board President, "I said he was a deplorable choice when he was elected, and nothing has happened since to change my mind"—a display hardly calculated to win public esteem for the Board.

◆ Back at PS 41, you got sent to the office if you passed notes around the classroom. In the Senate, you outfox the Minority Leader—at least if you're Robert P. Griffin (R., Mich.), another "moderate" (read: "very, very liberal") Republican who's coming into his fractious own. The Senate was debating the aid-to-education bill. Sen. Dirksen had just offered an amendment forbidding school districts to use federal funds to bus students in the interest of racial integration. To that, Griffin sought to add —by means of a hastily-scrawled amendment passed up to the rostrum—that such use of funds be barred *unless* it be "in accordance with a policy formally and freely adopted by the affected state or . . . local agency without the exercise of direction, supervision or control . . . by any department, agency or officer of the United States."

"What the Senator from Michigan is proposing to do is to gut the amendment that I have offered today," Dirksen intoned (he later changed the word to "accomplish a polite evisceration"). Just so, said Griffin, and Chuck Percy and floor manager Wayne Morse. Perhaps because of the sop to those opposed to *federal* busing plans, the Griffin amendment almost made it, 38 to 38, was held for reconsideration—and the next day Dirksen withdrew his original amendment. It was a surprising concession, made in the knowledge that Griffin just *might* be able to find enough votes to complete the, uh, disembowelment.

—CATO

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toral and mass action is being demonstrated in the developing 1968 elections. McCarthy's candidacy cannot be a substitute for the rising tide of mass action on the streets for an end to the war in Vietnam and for black freedom, regardless of what McCarthy himself or his backers may desire."

These quotations are from recent issues of the *Worker*, organ of the Communist Party. In the pedantic Aesopian vocabulary of official Communism, they correctly assess the origin and inevitable course of the McCarthyite movement. Eugene McCarthy is far above the average among American political figures in intelligence, learning, wit and decency. These traits will not save him from the inexorable fate to which he has surrendered himself—the same fate, essentially, that took over Henry Wallace in 1948. McCarthy, believing that by becoming a candidate he was freeing himself from the oppressive yoke of a Presidential policy with which he is in basic disagreement, has in political actuality made himself a captive of the Left. It cannot be otherwise in the given equilibrium of political forces, and week by week this will become clearer as B follows from A, and C from B.

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At the beginning there are the accolades from high-minded anti-warriors and the respectable Left—Walter Lippmann ("The mission of Sen. McCarthy is . . . to stop the rot in the American political system. His chief assets are his own profoundly educated belief in the American idea and . . . the sincerity and purity of his motives"), John Kenneth Galbraith, a few of McCarthy's liberal colleagues in the Senate. But these types are not going to be organizing McCarthy activities, ringing doorbells for McCarthy, running the local McCarthy for President offices, getting out the McCarthy vote, packing the McCarthy meetings. The professionals, organizers and organizational machinery of the Democratic Party, with negligible exceptions, are "regular"—i.e., in the camp of the incumbent chief. The leaders and machinery of the trade unions are with the Democratic regulars. Where will McCarthy get the enthusiasts, activists, tacticians, organizers and grassroots workers who are the core of a political movement? There is only the Left, in particular the further Left and above all the organizationally and ideologically experienced groups of the Marxian Left. These will inevitably become dominant within the McCarthy movement. The dynamics of the situation in which McCarthy now finds himself leave him helpless. He has cut himself off not only from his party's Right—the more extreme flank of which is swinging toward George Wallace, in fact—but also from its Center and moderate Left, which are sticking with Johnson. He will find himself more and more, as did Henry Wallace before him, under the pressure of his own "masses," and insensibly his own rhetoric will to one or another degree yield to the insistent leftward pull of his supporters. Indeed, it has already begun to do so, as Kenneth Crawford notes in the same Dec. 18 *Newsweek* wherein Lippmann drools over his new White Knight. "But now that he is actually running, making speeches as a candidate. . . . the fine print doesn't quite match the purity of the bold type."

Undoubtedly Gene McCarthy is horrified at those "dissidents" whose present mode of behavior forces the President of this nation to sneak into its largest city like a thief in the night. But most of these dissidents are or will be McCarthyites. In politics it is and must be the case that a man is known, is defined, by the company he keeps.

Here It Comes

The President's budget message for fiscal 1969 will propose the 36th deficit in 37 years and come out strong for sound fiscal policies.

The British pound will be devalued once again. In the panic immediately following, Treasury Secretary Fowler will announce that the United States will never devalue the dollar. The dollar will be devalued in November.

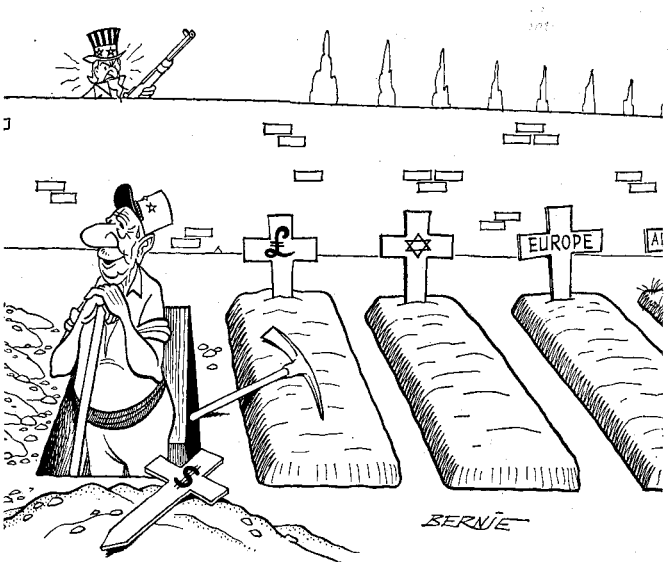
The Communist bloc will suffer the 50th consecutive crop failure since the overthrow of the Kerensky moderates in November 1917. Noting this record of amazing consistency and stability, the *New York Times* will press for admission of Communist China to the United Nations.

Mrs. John F. Kennedy, widow of the late President, will visit Turkey, Nicaragua, Manitoba, Ceylon, Finland, Tangier, the Falkland Islands, the New York State Democratic Caucus, Acapulco, 21, Harrod's, Arden House, Israel, Tierra del Fuego, Los Angeles, Antofagasta, Bachrach, 22, Newport, L&M, Karsh of Ottawa, Captain Sonny's in Montauk, and the Madison Square Garden Flower Show. She will always look lovely.

The following candidates for the Republican Presidential nomination, and the following candidates for the Democratic Presidential nomination, will deny that they have personal political ambition: George A. Frey of Beeville, Texas; Richard "E." Nixon (we have it on the authority of Mr. Happy Rockefeller); Lance R. Gentry of Alice, Texas; Gov. Claude Kirk; Gov. George Romney; Harry Bailey of Abilene, Texas; the former Harold Stassen; Charles Percy of Bell, Howell & Illinois, Inc.; Veronica Schmatz of Corpus Christi, Texas; William & Mary of Scranton, Iowa; old Charley Goodnight of Canyon, Texas; Gov. James Rhodes of Ohio; Attila the Hun, formerly of Boston. This has been a paid political announcement.

Women's hemlines will undulate with the Dow Jones Industrial Average, as usual, and for the same reasons.

Time Magazine will feature an elephant and a donkey on its cover during July. So will *Newsweek*. So will *Saturday Review*. But not the *New York Review*. It will stick with its stable of asses. ➔



The Grave Digger *Ben Roth Agency*

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Fourteen hundred and seventy-three central bankers will complain of the barbarous relic which is gold, meanwhile deploring the unkind destiny that has made it impossible for them to put their hands on so much of it as they might like.

General de Gaulle, at his vernal and autumnal press conferences, will call for 1) a grandeur in every pot, 2) the use of the subjunctive in subordinate clauses governed by verbs of uncertainty, 3) damnation for everything that doesn't speak French or, at best, taste like a truffle, 4) continued emphasis on the pleonastic *ne* during negotiations concerning British entry into the Common Market and/or Parisian pissoirs, and 5) south of the Sahara, a ban on pots, in francophone lands.

Sir Bernard Lovell of the Jodrell Bank Radiotelescope Observatory will confirm the Soviet achievements in outer space.

Hubert Humphrey will die of modesty, self-inflicted; and rise again, on the third ballot, as United States Ambassador to the United Nations, where he will die of vanity at the hands of an angry mob.

John Lindsay and Robert Kennedy will meet to discuss whose turn it is to attempt a witticism.

Now abideth faith, hope and charity. Of all the runners at the start of the race they are the most likely to be with us at the end. For which we humbly thank God and set our face to His year 1968.

Notes & Asides

On Spellman, The *Times, NR,* Drew Pearson

In New York there was quite a furore caused by the obituary editorial published in the *New York Times* on Francis Cardinal Spellman. "Public controversy," the editorial said in part, "engaged the Cardinal on his weakest side. He backed the late Senator Joseph McCarthy in his demagogic excesses, and he made a dismaying attack on Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt when she upheld separation of church and state in education. . . . Whether he was trying to ban the motion picture *Baby Doll* or block the reform of New York's divorce law, Cardinal Spellman sometimes squandered his own and his church's prestige on trivial issues and lost causes." Most of the objections centered on the question of taste, and with most of the objections I myself happen to disagree. Obituaries should strive (in the manner of NATIONAL REVIEW'S) to be generous, but not distorted.

What is striking about the *New York Times* syllabus of errors is that such research as we have been able to do indicates that the great big brave *New York Times* didn't criticize the Cardinal for exactly those of his faults which, now that it is too late for him to reform, they signal out for posthumous anathematization. When he uttered a kind word about Senator McCarthy: silence. When he criticized Mrs. Roosevelt: silence. When he criticized *Baby Doll*: silence. Obviously the *New York Times* should have added to its obituary. "What is more, Cardinal Spellman so terrorized *us* that the *New York Times* did not dare to criticize him for these delinquencies at the time he committed them." Now that we know the cause of the *Times'* restraint over the years, we mourn the Cardinal's passing even more.

It is the year end, and there is a lot that could be said concerning NATIONAL REVIEW, but only one thing I will say, and that is that I very much hope that you have enjoyed and profited from our long profiles. The decision to undertake them was made at an editorial meeting exactly a year ago. It was a big gamble for us, because it is impossible to commission exhaustive pieces by first-rank writers at the exiguous space-rates *NR* usually pays. Weeks of traveling and hard work are involved; we think it's worth it, largely because the individual pieces have been so strikingly good. The first, you will remember, was on George Wallace, by James Jackson Kilpatrick, who is the anchor man for the series. It remains the most definitive profile on Mr. Wallace to have appeared anywhere, unmatched and perhaps unmatchable. Next was Garry Wills on Charles Percy. That profile will be anthologized in the annual collection of the best magazine writing for 1967, edited by Gerald Walker. Then Kilpatrick on Nixon (peerless), Buckley on Reagan, Kilpatrick on Romney and, coming up, Wills on Rockefeller. That leaves LBJ, Eugene McCarthy, and Robert. We have asked Bobby to do the piece on LBJ, LBJ to do the piece on McCarthy, and McCarthy to do the piece on Bobby. That's what they call enterprising journalism.

And a bulletin from the National Committee to Horsewhip Drew Pearson, from the Executive Whip: Everything is in the mail. However, some of you have unclear handwriting, or else you wrote in such haste to inscribe yourselves as charter members of the Horsewhip Committee that your fingers trembled. In case your name appears wrong, please send in your certificate, and we'll give you another one, free, gratis. And oh yes, you will find, when you begin wearing your buttons, proudly, that lots of people will approach you and, almost invariably, ask:

"Why do you want to horsewhip Drew Pearson?"

To which there is one and only one answer authorized unanimously by the committee, to wit,

"Because of what he said about Shirley Temple."

Now don't go and gild the lily. That's ALL you should reply. Then tilt your head up just the least little bit, heavenward, and permit, perhaps, a lazy tear to make its way slowly down your idealistic cheek, chick.

A very Merry Christmas to you, from your grateful friend and admirer, **—WFB**

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Wherein the children
of Aloise B. Heath find the
United Nations Declaration of the Rights
of the Child
to be a GREAT Step Forward

The True Sprit of Chrismas

PAM, JOHN, PRISCILLA and BUCKLEY*

Many persons our ages of 12, 10, 8, 6 think the Sprit of Christmas is about toys and presents instead of about the real sprit. These persons are inmature and childless. As will be seen.

Today at Assembly, everybody got a copy and got read to, the UN Declaration of the Rights of the Child, which turned out it was the Chrismas present from the United Nations to all the children in the world, also which Pam, 12, and John, 10, have to write down about constructively and Priscilla, 8, and Buckley, 6, be prepared to explane in there own words by Monday. This is our free-thinking thoughts, for nothing is black and white but grey.

The first part, before the Principles start, is very oratory and good except for puctuation (commas not periods after paragraphs) and reptitous (absolutely 5 paragraphs in a row begin with "Whereas"). Persons that are always tearing down, tearing down would probably mock this instead of saying the United Nations did pretty good, spelling the long words this composition is absolutely full of.

PRINCIPLE I: *All children shall be entitled to these rights, without distinction or discriminaton on account of race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, property, birth or other status whether of himself or of his family.* Those who *think* will easly see that who their talking about is none other but the U.S. of America (world smelting pot), for in other countries from us (Europe, England, Russia, Wildest Africa, etc. etc. etc.) there isn't enough different population from the main to do discrimination at. (Except by inmost feelings, hard to wipe out, unforch.)

Why do they drag in sex, one asks ourself? Because the United Nations regard sex purely, like dictionaries, where sex is if you are a boy or a girl (you can look it up)—not the reason children are not allowed to see practicly every movie in the whole world. It is a well-none fact that most parents comitt discrimination on children by sex (by wether they are male sex or female sex, other words.) Ex: —: Sataday mornings, boys (M. sex) have to clean out cars in a icecold subzero gerage, wile girls (F. sex) only have to vacume warm & cozy carpets. And yet again about color (sometimes meening race, but they already said race in this PRINCIPLE so they now meen color.); Why? Because, Ex:—: Some persons, who dirt shows on more than other persons because of there snow white color are all the time getting it in the neck (like parents saying: "Good God, your angkles"!! venial sin) when that happens to be the exact night one washed with soap! All this shall end.

One thing the United Nations forgot:—: discrimination by age, like:—Ex:—In 2 years, could Pam, now age 12 drive a car in S. Carolina? Yes!! In Conn.? No!! Could Jim, our brother of 14 marry Linda who he loves in India? Yes!! In Conn.? No.!! Showing that the UN forgot the main thing the child get's discriminated for. BUT: after all: nobidies perfect:

PRINCIPLE 2 (really getting going): *The child shall enjoy special protection and shall be given opportunities and facilities, by law and by other means, to enable him to develop physically, mentally, morally, spiritually and socially in a healthy and normal manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity.* Their going to start some laws, and unless quite a few parents wise up, we happen to know quite a few parents (including by marriage) that will end up incarserated. Because when the UN finds out, surely soon, that every single child in the world spends absolutely the best years of his life from infantry to adultery sitting on a hard seat, bending his head over books that is rooning his eyes and with the most absolutely boaring stuff poaring, poaring, poaring into his ears. At the same time when they breathe in constantly sniffing germs of namonia, chicken pocks, nefritus so they practicly only dare breathe *out* (practicly impossible):—all of which contrary to health and freedom:—then the UN will edict that this situation must CEACE!

PRINCIPLE 3: *The child shall be entitled from his birth to a name and a nationality.* This is also in the Sprit of Christmas because it portects children from being called Blooper and Kiki even when big, which can become absolutely humalating. Ex:—When John was born our brother Jim was 4 (difficult age) and Jim liked our Uncle Reid so he absolutely made every one call John "Uncle Reid" after him (Uncle Reid). Funny then, but how would John feel nowadays if Mrs. McLeod said in class: "Uncle Reid, suppose you take the next passage?" Like a fool. Principle 3 also protects people from the fate of Philip Nolan, who had to live on boats and not have a nationality for having got mad at the Government once, tho not till grown-up. But children's fate, through the passage of years is to become grown-up or else dead. So look before you leap, which the UN does.

PRINCIPLE 4: *The child shall enjoy the benefits of social security. He*

*Typed by Their Mother

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shall be entitled to grow up and develop in health; to this end special care and protection shall be provided both him and to his mother, including adequate prenatal and postnatal care. This sounds like mostly for mothers, but *think, think,* just exactly where would children be without prenatal mothers? NOWHERE. And prenatal fathers are not so absolutely necessary. The First Nowell would have been in a sanidary, recently-modern hospital if people had only had the UN then. The Massacre of the Holy Innocents would be absolutely an object of forbiddance and mortal sin, under penalty of the law.

PRINCIPLE 5: *The child who is physically, mentally or socially handicapped shall be given the special treatment, education and care required by his particular condition.* In the interests of the questioning mind, one has to admit that this principle is hard: because:—"physically handicapped" means crippled and those children, they say, have to go to special schools for crippled children:—"mentally handicapped" means retarded, and those children have to go to special schools for retarded children:—"socially handicapped" means Negro in the South but, as is well-known, those children have to come *out* of special schools for Negro children in the South. Does that make sense for physicals and mentals to go *in* yet for socials to come *out*? Not that who are we to critisise, never less, may be grown-ups should clarify there thinking on the topic.

PRINCIPLE 6: *The child for the full and harmonious development of his full personality, needs love and understanding. He shall, wherever possible, grow up in the care and under the responsibility of his parents, and in any case in an atmosphere of affection and of moral and material security. Payment of state and other assistance toward the maintenance of children of large families is desirable.* This one may seem to say a lot of things one already knew, like "love and understanding," etc. etc. etc., but the important thing after all, is that it is still on the side of children, other words: Sprit of Chrismas. One may well ask ourself, although, about assisting (paying) people of large families (personally in our favor), which if they do, they have to make there mind up about populations exploding. For, besides the joys of parenthood, if you get paid too, where will it all end?

PRINCIPLE 7: *The child shall be given an education which will promote his general culture and enable him on a basis of equal opportunity to develop his abilities. The child shall have full opportunity for play and recreation, which shall be directed to the same purpose as education.* It is hard to see how the UN missed the things wrong in this, unless there wrist was getting tired from writting. *Wrong thing No. A:*—There absolutely just isn't anything equal in people's opportunity to learn culture that would be general. Like in West Hartford, U.S.A., culture is French, Mythology, Music, Hiawatha, and things like that but in Wildest Africa culture is Hunting lions, Shrinking heads, Building huts of clay and wattles made, and things like that, none of which there is any of in West Hartford. (Even if there was some way this could be arranged, it would not be very fair to Wildest Africa children.) *Wrong thing No. B:*—(the part about play and recreation). Unforch, as even the dumbest know, play and recreation that is directed always turns out into one thing:—RELAY RACES.

PRINCIPLE 8: *The child shall in all circumstances be among the first to receive protection and relief.* Vere dignum et justum est (altar boy's joke by John). Others, except priests look it up.

PRINCIPLE 9: *The child shall be protected against all forms of neglect, cruelty and exploitation. He shall not be the subject of traffic in any form.* (It is a known fact that sometimes children run right strate across *without* looking *both ways. Think*: nothing is black and white: all is grey.) Next part: *The child shall not be admitted to employment before an appropriate minimum age.* This is one of the most absolutely Sprit of Chrismaslike things the UN ever said in its life. For NOTE:—Employment means working for *money.* How far far worse indeed, therefore, is the involatory slavitude children have to do Satadays, not only for no money, but not getting their riteful allowance if they don't. This also shall be changed by law.

PRINCIPLE 10: *The child shall be brought up in a spirit of understanding, tolerance, friendship among peoples, peace and universal brotherhood, in full consciousness that his energy and talents should be devoted to the service of his fellow men.* These sweet and nobble words show how the Uniteds have even *improved* the Sprit of Chrismas. For in olden days, you were supposed to love your fellow men (even the ones you couldn't stand) yet use your energy and talents for you and yours, which you had to, the world being such a mess. In our day, you only have to have a sprit of tolerace, friendship, etc. etc. etc., and even that you only have among peopleS, much more practical than among peoplE, if you get our meaning (see letters we put in capitals). Also, the new laws of the governments of the UN will take care of things like nutrition, housing, and other postnatal care of you and yours, so there will be nothing left to do except be devoted to the service of your fellow men.

Thus we see, the UN Declaration of Rights of the Child is in the true Sprit of Christmas, and also cinchy.

Thoughts on Surveying a Host of Heaths

I wandered lonely as a cloud
That floats on high; o'er vale and hill
When all at once I saw a crowd,
A host, of Heaths—it chills me still.
Beside the lake, beneath the trees
A tremor seized me in the knees.

Continuous as the stars that shine
And twinkle on the Milky Way
They stretched in never-ending line.
I could not wrench my eyes away.
To house them one would need a ranch
To feed them—Lord, it made me blanch.

The noise that issued from this gang
Reverberated over me.
I clapped my hands o'er ears that rang
And damned this jocund company.
I gazed—and gazed—but little though
What wealth to me the show had brought.

For oft, when on my couch I lie
In vacant or in pensive mood
They flash upon my inward eye
And then I bless my solitude;
Reach for my pencil and my scroll
And write anew on birth control.

—ABH

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The Third World War

JAMES BURNHAM

Suez Follies

"P & O, the world's biggest passenger fleet, has decided to route its liners round the Cape for the whole of 1968, it was announced last night. The line is normally among the most important users of the Suez Canal, contributing heavily to Egyptian coffers on the way to Australia and the Far East . . . . P & O Lines' managing director, Peter Parry, said, 'To maintain an efficient service it is vital that we plan well ahead and are not influenced by the uncertainty which surrounds the Suez Canal.'" (Financial section, London *Times,* Dec. 2.)

Burnham

Mr. Parry's decision is surely prudent. The Egyptian-Israel political deadlock must be broken before a start can be made on the technical job of reopening the Canal for traffic. There will be a long time, moreover, between the start and finish of the technical job, and the longer for every day of closure. The sunken ships must be raised. No one seems to know how many there are or whether it is true, as the Egyptians say, that several of them were full of cement. The silting of the channel can be controlled only by continual dredging, and there has been no dredging since June. Most of the pilots, technicians and workers have been evacuated, along with the general population, from the Canal zone. The locks, dredges and other equipment are not being properly maintained. The pool of skilled men is being dissipated without any chance to train replacements.

In the period prior to the June war, the Canal had been grossing about $200 million a year from the transit of somewhat more than 20,000 ships. Nasser feels little immediate financial pain, because oil-rich Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Iraq are giving him almost equalizing subsidies. But subsidies are notoriously unreliable and the longer-term outlook is gloomy.

Not only will there be the heavy costs of reopening. In order to meet future transport needs, the Canal will have to be extensively developed. As of last June the channel permitted passage of ships of a maximum 38 feet draft with maximum loaded capacity of 60,000 tons. This excludes the big tankers now ranging up to 200,000 tons, with some as high as 300,000 tons on order. The channel could not be deepened significantly without a correlated spreadout of the banks. Such work, together with the technical improvements required for speedier handling of ships, would cost several hundred million dollars.

Canals and Tankers

Even when and if the work is carried out, it is not certain how many of the big tankers would choose to use the Canal. With their huge capacity, higher speeds and, because of automation, small crews, many of the new tankers are said to show lower costs per ton of oil around the Cape than through the Canal, after Canal tolls are figured in. Besides, as Mr. Parry noted, the Cape does not have the additional cost, prominent in a businessman's calculations, of the Canal's "uncertainty."

And from where, in the light of the UAR's record, could Nasser, who doesn't have it, get all that money for modernizing his Canal?

Reviewing these Suez facts, I found myself led to a series of meditations, among which:

1) Men, along with crows and rats, are the most adaptable creatures. Men adapt to polar ice and equatorial sun, desert and jungle, water, land and space, and are obviously preparing to adapt to the moon and Mars. It was certainly a miscalculation on Nasser's part to suppose men, even if Europeans and Christian dogs, couldn't adapt to the closing of the Suez Canal. They are adapting so well that the Canal is losing forever an increasing portion of its potential traffic. If it stays closed long enough there may be no customers left when it reopens. The Canal is a convenience but not essential.

2) In supposing that he could bring the West to heel by closing the Canal, Nasser has proved himself even more of an idiot than he was already known to be on past performance.

3) By permitting a man like Nasser and a nation like Egypt to control the Suez Canal, the West is proved to be still more idiotic. Though the Suez Canal is not essential, it is a really major convenience; its closing means a high cost imposed ultimately on hundreds of millions of human beings. Could anything be more ridiculous than to give a fanatic, irrational minor demagogue, moved by frustration and spite, the power to levy such a tax? I wish General Eisenhower, in one of his Nestorian TV or press admonitions to his countrymen, could be prodded into a little soul-searching on the part he played in consummating this idiocy.

4) And, still on the topic of idiocy, what about policy toward South Africa in the glare of the Canal closing? South Africa has saved, is saving, Europe from an economic catastrophe. The liners, freighters and tankers are able to substitute the Cape for the Canal because and only because they can replenish fuel and stores at Durban, East London, Port Elizabeth or Capetown. There is no place else on the entire African coastline. The other African nations don't have ports with the capability for the job, and would refuse to serve the Western ships even if they did, because they are pro-Nasser. How would things look right now if a Lumumba-type were running what was left of South Africa?

Of course South Africa is making a pretty penny from Nasser's idiocies, and there's no reason to swoon with gratitude over South African "generosity." Nor is it a question of loving the South African regime like the Afrikaners love it. But there it is; it's obviously going to be around a while; it functions, and it's willing to function on our side. You'd think that would be enough to induce Western statesmen to keep their official mouths shut about South Africa's domestic affairs. There's a mote or two showing in their own.

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Letter From London

Destiny Catches up with George Brown

COLM BROGAN

Mr. George Brown has now reached a position that is certainly impressive, though not necessarily entirely enviable. He comes a very close second to weather as a staple of conversation. "Pretty nippy today, but you have to expect it at this time of the year. It's seasonable and at least it's dry. Heard the latest about George?"

"The latest" never concerns his foreign policy, about which the public knows and cares nothing, but about the latest example of his personal behavior which some call idiosyncratic, and others by shorter and more unkindly words. If this means that the public doesn't take good old George seriously, it would seem to follow that it doesn't take British foreign policy seriously, either, wherein it is entirely right.

Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to dismiss George Brown indulgently as a princess-kissing, frugging, backslapping, brawling character of low comedy. Though short on formal education, he is a highly intelligent man, considerably more intelligent, some believe, than Harold Wilson. What he lacks is not brains but ballast.

I first came across him in the early days of the postwar Labor government. I was invited by the BBC to debate with him on a program broadcast to South America. The producer warned me that Mr. Brown was a highly combative debater and would not be easy to handle.

So it proved. George's idea of debating was to start talking fast and loud as soon as the light went on and keep ceaselessly talking until the light went off again. When I grasped this I entered into the spirit of the thing and also talked fast, loud and ceaselessly. The producer was highly gratified. He said he was quite sure not a single South American could have caught a word of the talk, but it made most stimulating radio.

Afterwards George offered me a lift in his car and kindly advised me to change my politics but fast. The Conservative Party was finished and would disintegrate. The Labor Party would be in office for twenty years and would then have to fight off a new party of the Left. Even in those days his forecasting showed more of boisterous optimism than of realism.

On The Way Up

During the long, lean years of opposition, he rose steadily within the party and for most of the time behaved with reasonable discretion, and showed himself capable both of courage and of common sense. When on holiday in Spain he paid a courtesy call on General Franco, something which I doubt any other Labor leader would have dared to do. I once ran across him on the promenade at Margate during a Labor Party conference. I had just listened to a lament from a woman MP about the shocking state of affairs in some African colony where

there was a grave disproportion between the per capita educational spending on the tiny minority of white children and the great majority of black. I asked him what he thought of this and he nearly snorted.

"I've been to that colony," he said, "and I can tell you if the whole white population left, the place would be plunged right back into ruin and chaos." There spoke the authentic voice of the working class Laborite, not the voice of the Hampstead intellectual.

He proved a loyal supporter to Hugh Gaitskell when he succeeded Attlee as party leader and was viciously attacked by the left wing over nationalization and nuclear armaments. George Brown's loyalty was ill rewarded. The left wing strongly opposed any attempt to join the Common Market, holding it to be dominated by capitalism. For a long time Gaitskell was favorable to the Common Market, though rather more cautiously than Brown. They ran fairly well in harness until Gaitskell's last appearance at an annual conference. Gaitskell was to open the Common Market debate and Brown to close it, but when Brown asked to see an advance copy of Gaitskell's speech to harmonize their approach he was told there was no script, only a few rough notes. In the end event, Gaitskell did an almost total *volte face,* speaking in heavily critical terms and laying down impossible conditions. Poor George Brown, taken completely unaware, had to scrap his speech and make the best of a horrible job. A friend of mine took him to the bar as soon as he had finished, and George required a couple of stiff drinks before he could even begin to express his feelings.

He had become widely known and widely popular, but he had not yet acquired the highly individual reputation he enjoys today. There were some signs of an uncertain temperament, but his conduct became headlines with frequency only after he lost the struggle for the leadership after Gaitskell's death. It was expected that he would beat Wilson in a straight contest, but James Callaghan also stood and Brown lost the day. He disappeared. Nobody knew where he was until he surfaced some days later in Scotland. This was the first incident which made MPs who had wanted him as leader piously thankful that he had lost.

His performance on the night of the Kennedy assassination alarmed many people. Taking part in an emergency television program he expanded on how great a friend Kennedy

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had been. This came as news to people who knew both Kennedy and Brown, and the general public thought it was in deplorable taste.

However, his performances in the 1964 election caused a great deal of innocent merriment, and he was fully established as a "character," someone refreshingly different from the pasteurized Hampstead intellectuals and the stolidly solid trade union men who made up most of the party leadership. It might be said that his freedom from the inhibitions of the middle class and also of the self-improveing Samuel Smiles working class gave him a hold on the affections and the indulgence of the people that in other days might have been given to some aristocrat who made up his own rules of living as he went along. The Labor Party is stuffy and dreary, and whatever might be said about good old George, he was neither.

It might have been thought that office would have steadied him, but it had the opposite effect. Some of his escapades were engaging enough. He went to the St. Patrick's Day dinner of the Irish Club, made an excellent speech and then threw himself wholeheartedly into the revels. He sang with great gusto that touching ditty, "The boys who beat the Black and Tans were the boys from the County Cork." It was a natural enough choice for a man whose grandfather came from Cork, but perhaps not strikingly appropriate for the Foreign Secretary. His occasional scuffling with cameramen and reporters did not affront the public who have no love for the Press, though every "incident" made him less credible as a responsible politician and deputy Prime Minister. His television discussion of his drinking habits put paid to any hopes he might still have entertained as a possible successor to Harold Wilson. His extraordinary outburst against Lord Thomson of Fleet, speaking as his guest at a formal dinner, first came as a shock, but this was followed by an undertow of sympathy. Lord Thomson has a collection of stale and weary after-dinner jokes that might go down well enough at a Rotarian dinner in a small Canadian town, but do not go down at all in more sophisticated gatherings. But there was more to Brown's outburst than extreme irritation at Thomson's bad taste. Brown felt with justice that the appointment of Lord Chalfont as personal negotiator with the Common Market had stolen his favorite thunder and he hit out blindly. It was one of his worst efforts, which might have chastened another man, but he has given other such performances.

Drink is by no means the sole explanation of his extravagances, nor are they all merely foolish and embarrassing. He can be extremely offensive, sometimes, it would appear, in a premeditated way. This is the view of one political commentator who is so mild in nature that he has a good word to say for almost everybody, even for Harold Wilson, but no good word for George Brown.

What drives him to these outbursts? Undoubtedly his limited education rankles in him deeply, and he adopts the quite common attitude of openly despising what he cannot attain. He can speak scornfully of University education and University men. He may also have an inferiority complex about his social origins. Some have suggested that he may be worried about his health.

Whatever the reasons, his buffoonery and boorishness have cost him dear. For a long time his antics were useful to Harold Wilson, distracting attention from himself, but now that Wilson's reputation has so suddenly and so shockingly collapsed, Brown is no threat to him at all. In the deep disillusion of this bleak winter, people are no longer in a mood to be indulgent to political pantomime. If he left the government altogether or was pushed out, he could not hope for the massive support he has been able to count on in the past. "Temperament is Destiny," and Destiny has caught up with him.

'Tis the Season to be Surly

HAROLD O. J. BROWN

The cheerful sights and sounds of Christmas this year once again are mingled with a number of peevish outbursts. The Christmas season gladdens the heart of the genuinely Christian, of the merely sentimental, and of the merely commercial man, but there are some who are plunged by it into gloom and exasperation. It is natural that Christmas should be dear to the Christian as one of the two great commemorative festivals of his faith. The merely sentimentally-inclined individual finds if anything more nourishment in the annual American Christmas than does the religious man; for the man of commerce, of course, it is *the* great feast, not merely one of two great ones. But for those frigid souls who cannot rejoice either in the great miracle which Christmas celebrates, or in the less Christianly motivated but equally genuine exchange of gifts and greetings, or in the annual transfusion of hoarded or borrowed money into the consumer market, 'tis the season to be surly.

Scrooge's comment on Christmas was "Humbug!" until the double message of human mortality and of the power of love was brought home to him. All the way across the board, from the man who reacts most clearly in Christian terms to the one whose interest is purely one of business, our annual American Christmas orgy produces a tendency to echo Scrooge's unconverted epithet. In the midst of the pre-Christmas shopping and post-Christmas exchanging and complaining rush, a thoughtful businessman will naturally dream of ways of distributing the buying throughout the whole year. The Christian cannot help feeling sad that so many people each year have to make do with the counterfeit joys of a merely commercial and sentimental season, romanticizing a Gospel account which is joyful only if it is true. If the Babe laid in the manger really was Emmanuel—God with us—the story is wonderful. But if it was only another human baby born in poverty and killed with cruel injustice, then all the good cheer of Christmas is indeed an infernal mockery.

Such reflections are warranted. For the minister who at Christmas, as at Easter, has a crowded church and the next Sunday has an empty one, they are the occasion for a melancholy brooding on the fickleness of churchgoers, who once a year do a thing which makes no sense unless it is

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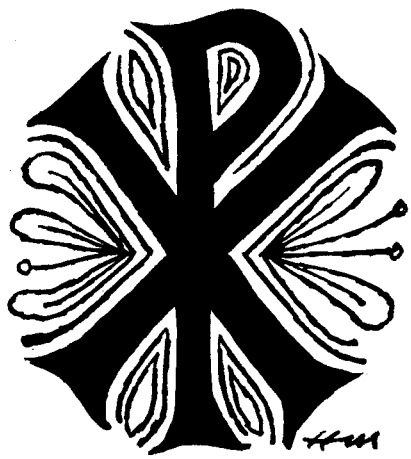
worth doing frequently. But even he may reflect that while Christmas is fundamentally meaningful only for the believer, for the unbeliever it may be good that such a celebration is at least tied to the name of the Redeemer and not to that of one of the many idols worshiped in our twentieth century. The businessman will ultimately tell himself that if there were no Christmas to create the rush, the hoarded cash would remain hoarded and the borrowed money unborrowed, and thereby console himself for tired feet and aching head. For the third class of Christmas objectors, however, there is no such consolation—nor can there be, so long as Christmas continues to remind them that American society and the American government still stand, however daintily and drily, in the stream of Biblical and Christian religion. The religious and economic objectors are distressed because Christmas is not as spiritual or as efficient as it could and should be, but basically they are glad that it exists. The third class, which we may call that of the churlish objectors, is surly because there is such a thing as Christmas at all.

A Christian Attitude Towards Christmas

Curiously, both the religious objector and the third class dislike the same thing about Christmas observances: the fact that they have been secularized. But the Christian must accept this, however little he likes it and however inappropriate he may rightly deem it. A secularization of Christmas is inevitable as long as there is any Christianity at all, for Christmas—if we reverently put it thus—is the festival of the secularization of God. Indeed, how could God have brought Himself more irrevocably into human history, into our *saeculum*, than by the incarnation of the Son? (Secularization in this sense, we must note, is quite different from that proclaimed by the "secular theologians," which shows that their deviation, like so many others, is a distorted reflection of something that is valid in orthodox Christianity.) If God has thus unreservedly *committed* Himself to a particular little area of our space and an interval of our time (without, of course, *limiting* Himself only to them), it is not surprising that a human society which preserves any memory whatsoever of that cardinal event should celebrate it by secular observances. Ultimately, then, those who object to any non-religious, social, or quasi-governmental recognition of Christmas inevitably tend towards the only way that the secularization of Christmas can be abolished: towards the abolition of Christianity.

Thus, while the Christian will logically regret the secular side of Christ-



mas observances, because they minimize or understate the full story of Christmas, because they substitute human sentimentality for the love of God, and finally because they offer an attractive and pervasive surrogate hilarity in place of true Christmas joy, he must nevertheless put up with them. John Calvin and his Puritan heirs deplored the unequal weighting of Christmas when logically its joy should be equally distributed throughout the whole year and the Christian's whole life. For a time, Christmas was banned in Puritan New England. But although Calvin had logic on his side, he had human nature against him, and Boston was celebrating Christmas even before the arrival of the Irish. Perhaps the most sensible thing for the concerned Christian to do at Christmas is not to protest against its excessive commercialization, nor to wrestle with schools and park committees in an attempt to suppress their less than fully orthodox pageants and tableaux. Instead, he can point again and again to the often ignored fact that the "beautiful story of Christmas"—and something of it always gets through—is an ugly mockery *unless it is really true.*

America at Christmas must always remind the Christian who is also an American of the awkwardness of America's curious blend of religion, culture, and politics. No Christian is ever really happy with this mélange, which is never more confused than at Christmas. Nor can he sit back and let others think that American cultural and governmental Christianity is anything but a pale and distorted reflection of true Christianity. But he must beware of joining forces with those who dislike it for another reason: precisely because they cannot stand even the faintest, lingering odor of Christian sanctity around their secular state. From one perspective he would seem to have something in common with them. American Christmas, in its present form, is objectionable to both. But the Christian must recognize that he cannot do more than limit its objectionable features without eliminating not merely Christmas but Christianity as a force in society. And that he dare not do—less for the sake of Christianity, strangely enough, than for that of society. Christianity could do without American Christmas without suffering more than a momentary twinge of nostalgia. But for the sake of the non-Christians—and without any immediate thought of converting them—Christians must struggle to keep Christmas *in America* as well as in church, and not merely to keep Christ in Christmas. Society will inevitably secularize Christmas; so, if it is to have it at all, it is going to have to have some kind of a mundane version of it. However ambiguous that may be, it is better for society than nothing at all. The Christmas churls, if they have their way, will not only succeed in rendering America a little less happy at that time of year, but a lot less healthy the whole year 'round.

A Non-Christian Attitude Toward Christmas

This year, once again, the American Civil Liberties Union and other agencies and individuals are mounting a quixotic campaign against any official or quasi-official governmental recognition of the fact that there is a Christmas and that a large percentage of America in some muddled way believes in it. Certain of the more serious (and perhaps pharisaical) Christians join them, apparently feeling that because Christmas is not all that it should be, it musn't be anything at all. The quixotism of this undertaking

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is shown by its ostensible rationale: any public recognition of Christmas, whether it be a school pageant, a stamp with a four-paned window looking suspiciously like a cross, or a crèche in a public park, constitutes an *establishment of religion* and as such is Forbidden By The First Amendment.

Like a Miracle Play

In some ways the spectacle of ACLU lawyers arguing that a school Christmas pageant represents an establishment of religion resembles a miracle play and ought itself to be forbidden, lest it seduce, corrupt, and possibly even convert the judges. The likelihood that the ox and the ass could speak at midnight on Christmas Eve (*NB*: This is *not* part of the biblical Christmas story!) is intrinsically hardly any smaller than the likelihood that the framers of the Constitution could have mistaken a school pageant for a state church. They knew well enough what a state church was. We no longer do, and perhaps this is the reason why such fantastic pleas are seriously considered.

Thus it may not be out of place to explain, even at the risk of pedantry, that an "establishment of religion" meant the establishment of a state church, a thing which was no mean threat at the time the Constitution was drafted. It certainly did not mean, as it seems to mean today, any official recognition, even the slightest, of the fact that religion is a part of human life and that some form of Christianity is at least vaguely imbedded in the lives of a significant number of Americans. The most logical reply for a court faced with so imaginative an argument would be *de minimis non curat lex*—the law is not concerned with trifles. But these days the law, and even the highest courts, are concerned with *everything*. How shall the school pageant escape?

The answer, of course, is that it is not escaping. The fact that such a trifle is being hounded so seriously means that the Christian cannot say, as the courts should do, "*De minimis!*" He must ask himself what really lies behind this sudden surliness at Christmas—and what it may well produce.

On the one hand, the Christian must admit that the pervasiveness of Christmas does not remind everyone of sleighbells and of Good Old St. Nick. There are those for whom it evokes bitter memories of Christian smugness at non-Christians' sufferings, of isolation, of arrogant contempt, of prejudice and discrimination. The nominal Christianity of American society may have helped few non-Christians along the road to an understanding of the message of Christ, but it has given all too many of them an acute awareness of the fact that Christians can substitute condescension and contempt for charity when they are confidently in the majority. For this reason the Christian is not entitled to utter bleats of shock and horror at all those who would churlishly "spoil Christmas." It may be only turnabout, for Christians have done their share to spoil Christmas for everyone else. It is not surprising that others, when the fancy of American jurisprudence gives them encouragement, try to spoil it for them.

Abolish Christianity Itself

On the other hand, the Christian must point out that this emotionally understandable if legally fanciful attempt to spoil the American Christmas is not a surly but basically sound desire to rid America of every token of its nominal Christianity and of its cultural-religious heritage. It is ultimately a deliberate, effective, and dangerous attempt to abolish not only Christian superciliousness but Christianity itself.

Some of its protagonists, like the colorful Mrs. Madalyn Murray, cheerfully and coarsely proclaim that that is precisely what they are trying to do. Others protest, more or less genuinely as the case may be, that they are only trying to protect themselves and their children from insult, offense, and feelings of not belonging. Mrs. Murray has at least the virtue of honesty, which shines all the more brightly in isolation. Unfortunately, she is not typical of those who feel genuinely hurt and threatened by American Christmas. She can be taken seriously as an extremely effective and inimical demagogue, but they may be taken seriously for another reason. Their fear that they may be hurt by Christmas observances indeed seems to be a rather exaggerated sensitivity, hardly realistic in an age in which Christianity itself is fighting for its life. Nevertheless, this fear is real, if the Christmas objectors are telling us the truth. Given the present confused and self-immolating mentality in the churches and the curious anti-crusading spirit of the courts, it is not impossible that it will be assuaged by a series of decisions gradually forcing every vestige of Christian symbolism out of public life.

It would be wrong to suggest that the life of the church is at stake in such a development. The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church, and it is certainly possible that the abolition of all governmental consideration for Christianity and a return to hostility, even a return to persecution, would in the long run benefit the church.* And it is not far-fetched to look forward to such a development, for the quixotic protests against Christmas observances stem from a mentality which cannot rest until every trace of Christianity has been eradicated from the social structure. Since Christianity, whether genuine or sham, constantly secularizes itself, in the sense that it moves into the age in which it lives and interacts with it, this means that this mentality cannot rest until Christianity itself has been driven from public view and has gone underground. The church should not protest too loudly about the loss of its privileges, but it can and should warn the objectors that their intolerant attitudes will ultimately harm them more than it.

The Spineless Society

The problem is a simple one, and it lies much more with our society, such as it is, than with the churches, such as they are. The fact is that no society can live without a moral backbone. In American society, the backbone is provided by the strange mélange of faith, habit, and conformity called American Christianity. This mélange is hardly substantial enough to meet God's standards for admission into His Kingdom, but it is substantial enough to give America all the moral backbone that it in fact has. Its pervasiveness is attested by the universality of Christmas in America, just as its theological shallowness is

*By the church I mean the *invisible* church, i.e. the company of all those who truly believe in Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour according to the Scripture.

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revealed by the tawdriness of that Christmas. America is not a Christian nation in any very satisfying Biblical sense, but it definitely is one in the sense that it is not anything else, and that Christianity gives it the only moral system it has. The real problem with surliness at Christmas is not that it spoils Christmas cheer (it really is too limited for that), nor yet that it threatens the true church (not even the gates of hell can do that), but that it reveals a suicidal kind of mentality which may well succeed in eviscerating our society in a vindictive effort to strike out angrily at the prerogative or pretensions of the church.

A partially or nominally Christian America is a constellation of paradoxes and contradictions. It is satisfying to no one: certainly not to the conservative Christian, and not to the militant secularist. But the point is that while this doubtful Christianity is of questionable value in admitting any individual into the Kingdom of God, it is absolutely essential, in the given historical situation, for American society as a whole. Just as man does not live by bread alone (Matthew 4:4 and Deuteronomy 8:3), so society cannot live on the grandeur of its Gross National Product. Societies, unlike individuals, do not die and go to heaven, but they do die; without a moral backbone, they die sordidly and disgracefully. Medical science has succeeded in transplanting many organs, but the transplantation of the backbone remains in the future. Even if medicine should succeed in substituting a human backbone, creating a new moral structure for a whole society remains an insuperable problem. It is something which must grow. It can be strengthened or damaged, but it cannot be exchanged.

From 'Playboy' to the ACLU

The all-out attack on Christianity in America has many facets, From the ill-disguised sallies of Hugh Hefner's *Playboy* against so-called "Puritanism" (i.e., Christian morality) to the more Quixotic charges of the American Civil Liberties Union against school Christmas pageants. The funny —or tragic—thing is that it is just this supposedly repressive, watered-down Christian society which gives them the liberty and the security out of which they make their lucrative or idealistic forays. Tearing it down will be a lot easier than finding something with which to replace it, short of chaos or tyranny.

The American Christmas is one of those curious products of the uneasy union of a funny and confused kind of Christianity with a unique and confused nation and destiny. The church is an old, old institution. It goes back two thousand years in the records, and into eternity in the mind of God. It doesn't need its alliance with America. Nor does America, theoretically, as a modern, mature, "come-of-age" secular power, need anything as archaic as the church. But practically America does need it. Imperfect as it is, particularly in the amalgam of cultural Christianity, it is the only source of moral values which has any hope of being widely accepted throughout the United States. The church can do without government Christmas observances. It might even be much better off without them. But the mentality which rides out to fight against them is one which will, *nolens volens*, dissolve the actual moral backbone of society and thereby in all likelihood abrupty cut off its own right to existence.

Can all these things be wrapped up in a simple, if churlish attack on Christmas observances? Of course there is a long road between banning Christmas pageants and cutting the backbone out of society. But the connection is there, linking one to the other. All it requires is perseverance on the part of the banners and resignation on the part of the defenders, and sooner or later the surgery will be complete. (This somber prediction is at the very least no more far-fetched than the ACLU's identification of Christmas pageants with establishments of religion!) Whatever its faults, Christmastide, even American public-school pageanted Christmastide, is not the season to be surly. It is the Gospel story, if it really and truly took place so many years ago, which gives the only basically satisfying and adequate reason for being jolly at Christmas (or at any other time). But whether or not one is willing to go along with this affirmation of historic Christianity, the fact remains, 'tis the season to be jolly—not surly.

"Before we start the blackboard decorations, do you know if Madalyn Murray has anything against Santa?"

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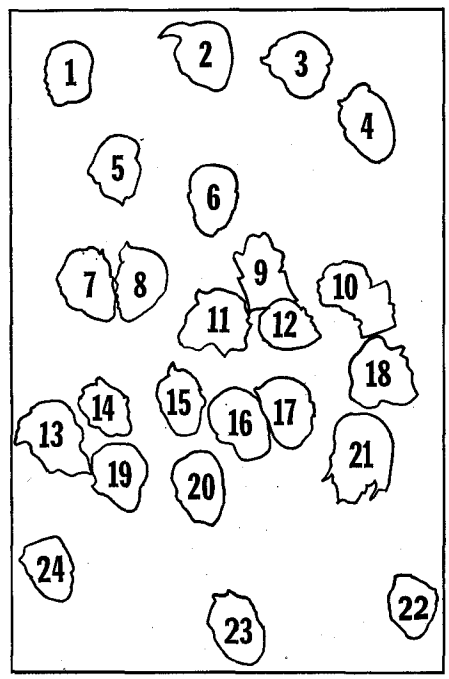
NR's Annual Guide to Unsatisfactory People

Gathered on the deck of the sinking ship (of state?) over there are 24 people, all of whom are, or during the past year have been, Unsatisfactory. Mark them well, for (with the exception of Number Thirteen) they will not pass this way again. Are *you* Unsatisfactory? Will you have a Merry Christmas? Will you be Satisfactory in 1968? We hope so.

1. **Dick Gregory**, who wants to bring Watts to Broadway—with a segregated cast, of course.
2. **Hubert H. Humphrey**, who chatted amiably with Lester Maddox.
3. **Lester Maddox**, who chatted amiably with Hubert H. Humphrey.
4. **Gen. James Gavin (Ret.)**, who went to West Point.
5. **M/Sgt. Donald Duncan**, Green Beret gone Dove, who as *Ramparts* Magazine's military editor revealed the laxness of the Pentagon's promotion policies.
6. **Rev. Cotesworth Pinckney Lewis**, who during Sunday church services felt moved to lecture President Johnson on Vietnam.
7. **Chet Huntley**, who scabbed during the AFTRA strike.
8. **David Brinkley**, who didn't.
9. **Andrew Kopkind**, who called the Vietnam war "the most barbaric imperialistic war of this century"—completely forgetting our intervention in Santo Domingo.
10. **Sonia Brownell Orwell**, who—halfway to 1984—took a job covering the European scene for *Ramparts*.
11. **Mary McCarthy**, who traveled all over Vietnam without dropping a single napalm bomb on a single child.
12. **Jack Newfield**, who covers the angry youth scene for the *Village Voice*, and who needs Geritol.
13. **Shelley Winters**. Always, again.
14. **Fr. James E. Groppi**, whose idea of brotherhood is for a white hood and a black hood to get together and jump a cop.
15. **Fr. James Cavanaugh**, who can't understand why the Catholic Church doesn't have his great, big heart.
16. **Rowland Evans** and
17. **Robert Novak**, who have already distorted the outcome of the 1968 Republican Convention.
18. **Rudolf Nureyev**, who fled Communist tyranny to wind up being busted by San Francisco police at a hippie pot party.
19. **Jacqueline Grennan**, former nun who secularized herself and her college and now goes around saying "f'godsake" at student smokers. (See "From the Academy.")
20. **H. L. Hunt**, who is terribly, terribly extravagant.
21. **Joan Baez**, who got herself barred from Constitution Hall by the DAR, thus callously stealing Marian Anderson's act.
22. **Richard Goodwin**, outrider for the Bobby Kennedy juggernaut, whose conservative-sounding statements are merely backfield-in-motion.
23. **James Garrison**, New Orleans D.A. and Kennedy-assassination theorizer, whose conduct is unbecoming to a redneck.
24. **Neal B. Freeman**, who chickened out on doing the Second Annual "Freeman's Guide to Unsatisfactory People."



Compiled by C. H. Simonds
Illustrated by Joseph Papin

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FROM THE ACADEMY

Let's Be Sexumenical

RUSSELL KIRK

If we say that equal rights is the only morality, we must accept that equal rights is not equated to numerical symmetry." So spake, recently, Dr. Michael Scriven, professor of philosophy at the University of California. He was participating in an international conference at the University of Notre Dame on "The Changing Woman: the Impact of Family Planning."

Equal rights *isn't* the only morality. But the particular question with which Professor Scriven dealt was more lively than his erroneous postulate. He was arguing in favor of "three-party marriages," *à la* Tibet. "Historically," he said, "such arrangements have been enormously successful in some societies whose levels of culture have been equal to ours." Equal honors for Tibetans!

Kirk

If such speculations seem strange in the halls of Notre Dame du Lac, consider Mr. Scriven's other suggestions. "Now that the contraceptive society offers us the opportunity to liberate women, as this conference suggests," his general argument ran, "we must accept that having children is but one life style."

Roles are changing in our contraceptive society, he declared, and perhaps marriage should become "tripartite." First we would have "preliminary marriage," or simple cohabitation with no obligation at law. Then would come "personal marriage," with a contract—but no provision for the support of children. Third, "parental marriage" would be allowed, in which the husband would be expected to support any offspring.

Of marriage and giving in marriage, Dr. Scriven can't have enough—so long as it isn't old-style Christian marriage. After suggesting three-party marriage, he went on to inquire into the possibility of approving homosexual marriage. "And what about re-evaluating our incest taboos? Actually, it is not clear why there should not be brother-sister marriage, though the genetic problems might preclude the parental stage in the tripartite structure."

What would be left of the sort of marriage prescribed by pre-contraceptive people like Jesus of Nazareth? Why, "we would have our pictures of the ideal marriage, just as we have stories of our great folk heroes. They should become part of the myth—examples for persons to hold up and consider in relation to their own experience." Aside from us creatures of myth, however, generous Dr. Scriven would legalize all manner of marriages—because practitioners of his novel forms of union stand today in peril of losing their jobs, what with social disapproval and all that. Losing your job is much worse than losing your soul, of course.

Professor Scriven had his coadjutors at the Notre Dame conference. One was a Dr. Jessie Bernard, of the University of Pennsylvania, who volunteered the information that "mixed sex households," or "hippie pads" (sanctuaries for sexual promiscuity, that is) "have increased seven times faster than marriages have from 1960 through 1966."

Another interesting coadjutor was Miss (formerly Sister) Jacqueline Grennan, president of Webster College (formerly Catholic, now secularized by Miss Grennan). "We must offer people all kinds of alternatives," she informed her auditors. "We can't say these alternatives do not exist by denying them. Too often we tell people ahead of time what they should think, and we feel that our own value judgments are suspect if someone has another one."

The value-judgments of Moses, Christ and St. Augustine received short shrift, it is clear, from a number of participants in this conference. It wasn't the first time. Anyone who has read in Eusebius of Caesarea is aware that disagreeable heresies about sex plagued the Church in its early centuries—including the hippie-pad concept of marriage. But Dr. Scriven and his friends aren't much interested in the Fathers of the Church.

Won't it be fun, girls, to be liberated by the Pill and Dr. Scriven? You can be rid of children, obligations at law, old-fangled husbands, and even involvement with the opposite sex; the justice of the peace can join you in matrimony with your brother. Nothing is lost but honor, security and progeny. You will be as free as the freest inmate of a brothel.

The latter-day liberal, George Santayana wrote, relaxes no bond except the marriage tie. He is willing—nay, eager—to sink into political collectivism, escaping the consequences of atomic freedom; but he consoles himself, this latter-day liberal, with "liberation" from ancient moral authority. As with Alfred Kinsey, sexual "outlets" become all, and the orgasm unlimited becomes the end of existence.

Dr. Bernard is about to publish a book entitled *The Sex Game*. Indeed, the relationships of the sexes do constitute an ancient game; marriage itself is a game, from one point of view. But the enthusiasts of the Scriven persuasion forget one hard fact: a game must have rules. If the rules are abolished, so is the game—which then becomes mere aimless play, soon boring.

The rules of the game of sex were established through the long experience of man with God, and man (as a term of species, not discriminatory against females) with man. Chessplayers would not be grateful to any "liberator" who might emancipate them by letting them move their pieces at will, regardless of the silly old conventions of chess. And humanity would not be grateful to any liberal lunatic who might set them free from love, fidelity and permanence in marriage. In heaven, of course, exists no marriage or giving in marriage. But the damned know such "marriages" as the Scriveners would bestow upon us.

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Prophet Without a Cause

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

When the American Left acquired, in George F. Kennan, a second-rate prophet, the U.S. Foreign Service lost a first-rate Counselor of a medium-sized embassy. That much is clearly established by George F. Kennan's *Memoirs 1925-1950,* an intelligent and convincing *apologia* for the *vita* of an intelligent and not at all convincing public servant. This substantial volume of almost 600 pages contains many a lucid analysis of events observed and at least one lucid analysis of the observer: "I was never a man for causes."

This, indeed, he never was. He was, throughout a remarkable and rewarding career, many other things. He was intelligent, sometimes even shrewd, decent, diligent, personally and intellectually courageous. One even has the distinct impression that his instincts would have been on the right side, if he'd had any instincts. But he lacked the moral instinct for intellectual (and, thus, religious) decisions altogether. He was never a man for causes.

Now a man of such spiritual structure could be a more than adequate performer in a great many useful jobs —for instance, that of a first-rate technician in the Foreign Service (which is exactly what Kennan was for most of his professional life). The cool and cultured detachment from the essential meaning of political events (which is the exactly correct posture for a diplomatic technician) would have remained a personal asset of great social usefulness—under one condition: that he were to comprehend the limited validity and effectiveness of his own posture. The cool detachment of a technician, as long as it is utilized to serve someone else's passionate vision, remains indispensable in the pedestrian process of realization. But George F. Kennan finally suffered the fate of every ambitious technician: he developed a yen for the role of the creative artist, the man who imagines what the technician can merely execute.

Just as in every stagehand's life there comes a moment when he longs to play Hamlet, just so every competent diplomat at one point of his career feels called upon to design his nation's foreign policy. But if the diplomat is truly competent he soon discovers that his very competence disqualifies him for the designer's job. If he were capable of dreaming, he would not be capable of executing; and vice versa. Yet George F. Kennan could not resist the temptation. He was, however, intelligent and consistent enough to make the vision, for which he had no talent, fit the talents he has. Because he is no man for causes, he postulates, and proposes to design, a foreign policy purified of cause. The dreamer who cannot dream dreams of dreamless sleep.

George F. Kennan never could dream. Himself as a student at Princeton he lucidly describes as "an open intellect, lazy and passive when left to itself but capable of vigorous reaction when challenged; a huge sensitivity to atmosphere and to other people's worlds of thought; and an almost total absence of intellectual preconception." This portrait of the diplomat as student remained true for the following forty years; and seldom in the long history of memoirs has an author so fully understood himself without understanding his self-defined limitations.

They were, to be sure, the limitations of the geographical and social landscape in which this descendant of pioneer families grew up to become the interpreter of the old world to America. He soon and easily learned all the languages he needed for this job—all, that is, except the essential one, the language of ideas. He lived and worked (in increasingly important positions) in Berlin, Prague, London and Moscow; and wherever he was, he proved himself an astute observer. Generously drawing on his private and official papers of import, he is able to demonstrate an incorruptible intelligence, a skeptical power of judgment, the cool independence of a true Midwesterner. What the young Kennan put on paper, in the immediacy of exposure, concerning Munich, Roosevelt's "postwar planning," the conferences at Teheran and Potsdam, the Nuremberg trials, is as good and valid as anything written on these subjects ten or fifteen years later. And yet, even when he is at his best (and precisely then), he innocently betrays that he never understood what it all was really about. And, again quite innocently, he explains his failure with intelligent frankness in the chapter "A Personal Note":

> It is, I suppose, to this shallowness of grounding in the nineteenth century, and this inherited partiality for the eighteenth, that I must attribute the discomfort I experience in my own status as a contemporary of the twentieth. The advantage I can claim from this discomfort is the relative detachment it implies. . . . It helps in this respect, however lonely and unsettling it may be in others, to be a guest of one's time and not a member of its household.

THIS ADMIRABLY HONEST self-evaluation makes Kennan's promotion to the elevated status of Prophet-at-Arms an altogether extraordinary absurdity. To formulate its vision of things-to-come, the American Left ordained a man who is truly at home in the world of Metternich ("the shallowness of grounding in the nineteenth century"); a man who is constitutionally incapable of comprehending the only

Memoirs 1925-1950, by George F. Kennan. Atlantic-Little, Brown, $10

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new element in our world—the phenomenon of revolution.

Every phase in Kennan's distinguished career proves this beyond any conceivable doubt: he always mastered the arithmetic of his trade—and never its algebra. A choice pupil of pragmatism, he minutely studies every single tree—and gets lost in the woods. A man who pathetically lacks the organ for abstract conceptions has been elevated to philosophical leadership at a time when the flames of abstract conceptions (of "ideologies") are burning our world. The blind has been chosen to lead the lame.

HIS PHILOSOPHICAL BLINDNESS is much the more touching, as he is impeccably aware of every "measurable fact." Here is the rare career officer of the U.S. Foreign Service who never fell for the inane lunacies of the "Red Decade," of the preposterous Ambassador Joseph (*Mission to Moscow*) Davies, of Roosevelt's optimistic banalities—a man untouched by illusions and never tempted by treason. He never doubted who murdered the Poles at Katyn; he immediately grasped the crime of the Purge Trials; he never understood or even defended the occupation policies that delivered half of Europe to the Bolsheviks. But all this was of no philosophical avail. At the peak of his maturity, George F. Kennan became, in spite of the totality of his valid experiences, the supreme advocate of "coexistence."

It is, I think, no failure of nerve. It is, I think, no failure at all, but rather the inescapable consequence of Kennan's intellectual structure. A mind incapable of philosophical abstraction, never touched by passions of "ideology," must finally assume, in the face of revolution, the posture of catatonia. Because the world has reached the state of accelerated motion, a mind like Kennan's must finally recommend immobility.

In this, Kennan has legitimately become the oracle of the American non-Communist Left. While I was reading his *Memoirs,* the *New Yorker* published Richard Rovere's astonishing meditation on Vietnam and its consequences—astonishing, I say, because it displayed an honesty and a touching helplessness I would never have expected from a journalistic spokesman of the American Left. Yes, the American Left is turning honest and touchingly helpless. It begins to understand that it craves capitulation and that capitulation is horrifying and ugly. The American Left begins to understand that it has no other vision to offer but a national existence in tired despair. In this tragic situation, the American Left could not have picked a more significant and more attractive intellectual saint than George F. Kennan.

Artemis and Harlequin

HUGH KENNER

MISS MOORE at eighty (eighty!) is feisty enough to be the bibliographers' despair, as for two generations she has been the critics'. Critics have long felt the obligation to say something, and have never known what to say, except that she is the "greatest living observer" and seems to keep a most idiosyncratic clipping-file. F. R. Leavis bought her *Observations* in 1924, during ten years cut fewer than half the pages, was recalled to a sense of his obligations by the Eliot preface to the 1935 *Selected Poems,* and collapsed in bafflement:

"I have worked hard at them, applying myself to most of the book again and again at different sittings, and there is not one poem of which I can confidently say that I see the point": so Dr. Leavis in *Scrutiny,* vol. iv, page 87, a humiliating rout of which hardly a trace appears in the index to the twenty-volume *Scrutiny* reprint.

But let him who has seen and reported on points of hers cast the first stone. And let him hold fire, moreover, until he is sure he can say *what* he has been reading. The poem called "Poetry," for instance? But is it a text or a process?

For the bibliographer will be telling us, when he gets round to the matter, that many a familiar Moore poem has metamorphosed through printing after printing like a clockwork Proteus. "Poetry" first got into a book in *Poems,* 1921, five stanzas of six lines each, the symmetry of the stanzas governed by a grid of counted syllables and by four rhymes. In *Observations* (1924) revision destroyed several rhymes and deformed the grid severely. In 1936 three words dropped out. In the 1961 *Marianne Moore Reader* all the words dropped out: this best-known of her poems was nowhere to be found. Now in the 1967 *Complete Poems* (so-called) it reappears from the zero, but hardly: three lines only atop an otherwise blank page, thus:

POETRY

I, too, dislike it.
Reading it, however, with a perfect contempt for it, one discovers in it, after all, a place for the genuine.

At the back of the volume, however, we find a note, which reprints the entire 1936 text—the one scarred by all those revisions—and labels it "original version."

Has a text ever before become a footnote to an excerpt from itself? And with what jaunty mathematic symmetry did it not disport itself in public nearly fifty years ago!—turned inside out now like a linty pocket, to say that Poetry is Probity, and Probity is remorseless self-discipline which doesn't mind looking eccentric.

LANDOR didn't mind looking eccentric, and Miss Moore quite recently had good words to say for him, incorporating in her usual way, with punctilious quotation marks, phrases from someone else's essay:

There
is someone I can bear—
"a master of indignation . . .
meant for a soldier
converted to letters," who could
throw
a man through the window
yet, "tender toward plants," say,
"Good God,
the violets!" (below). . . .

What a scene for a lady in her seventies to be dwelling on; and why not? Being remote in time it's not an indiscretion but a curiosity, a splendid real toad for the imaginary garden the authorized text of "Poetry" no longer stipulates, but the whole of *Complete Poems* exemplifies.

Complete Poems, **by Marianne Moore. Viking, $8.50**
Collected Shorter Poems, **by W. H. Auden. Random House, $7.50**

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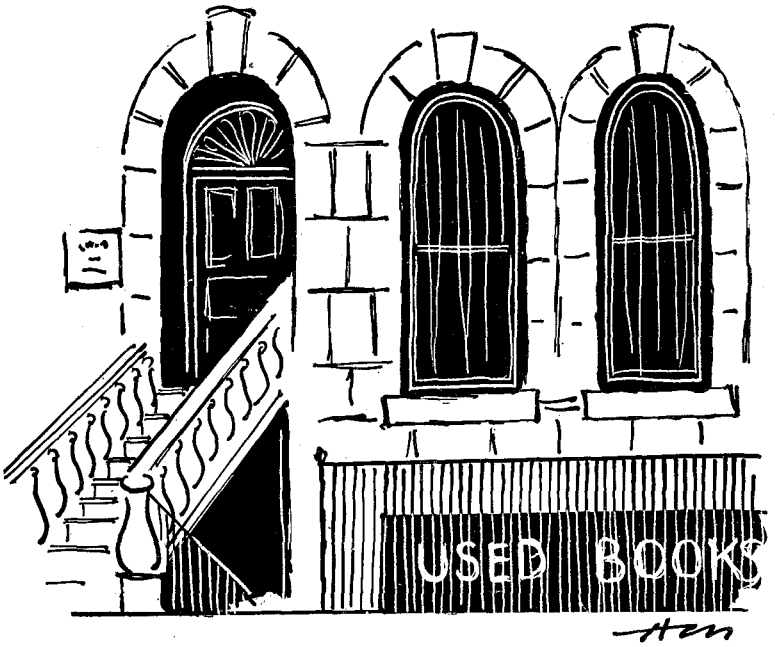
For the reality of her toads is relative to that of her gardens; they are always (naturally) *verbal* toads, and the act of verbalizing them has frequently been performed by some other writer, so that a Marianne Moore poem is apt to be a cento of quotations, the "point" that so eluded Dr. Leavis being the arrowy motion of the mind through them.

And motion, simultaneously, through rigid self-imposed forms, in which Miss Moore grows less and less interested; so that the poem about the cat Peter, for instance, has been stripped of its stanzaic rigors and retyped as free verse, phrases the syllable-count no longer obligates being tucked back here and there into naturalness.



MEANWHILE another poet, Mr. Auden, has passed his own milestone—he is sixty—and collected his *Shorter Poems*, also with revisions. Auden nowhere revises his formalities out of sight (it would be surprising if any poet but Miss Moore did). To do so would be to negate the original conjuring trick, the primitive marvel of stanza after stanza falling into the same shape as if without trying. He has always been the *performer* and is content to remain so: a hothouse Mozart, still at sixty the Marvelous Child.

Now north and south and east and west
Those I love lie down to rest;
The moon looks on them all,
The healers and the brilliant talkers,
The eccentrics and the silent walkers,
The dumpy and the tall.

She climbs the European sky
Churches and power-stations lie
Alike among Earth's fixtures:
Into the galleries she peers
And blankly as a butcher stares
Upon the marvellous pictures . . . .

A touch of Edward Lear ("the dumpy"; "blankly as a butcher") detaches the performance from the stanza's automatism; eccentrics and power-stations assure us that it's the twentieth century; meanwhile something is being done (the filling of stanzas) but little said, except that the moon (as Sappho noticed) sees all.

The effects are on the surface. Poems, Auden implies, are spells and charms whose surfaces reflect the times (he reflects the Thirties, the Forties, the Fifties). When he revises it is to improve the surface, re-arranging language when it seems "inaccurate, lifeless, prolix or painful to the ear," or extirpating the "slovenly verbal habits" of early youth. "I also find that my ear will no longer tolerate rhyming a voiced *S* with an unvoiced. I have had to leave a few such rhymes because I cannot at the moment see a way to get rid of them, but I promise not to do it again."

We still want to see the juggler, it's understood, but we want his old routines to display his latest stylistic criteria. And it's understood that he never had anything to tell us, but isn't that Hitler's moustache we glimpse in the air, or an aerodrome, or a coil of barbed wire? And how does that patter run—

Read the New Yorker, *trust in God*
And take short views.

—this is juggling For Our Time.

I, TOO, DISLIKE IT," might run a pertinent response. "Reading it, however, with a perfect contempt for it, one discovers in it, after all, a place for the genuine." Wasn't that the genuine that flew by just then? No, that was the *New Yorker*. To read the *Collected Shorter Poems* is like leafing through thirty years of old newspapers.

Whereas to read Miss Moore is not to leaf through innumerable scrapbooks, similar though her process may seem to the innocent eye. She is rigorous, not relaxed, about the criteria that admit the next item. That's what her poems are about, not their virtuosity but their austerity. Looking at old friends in new revisions one regrets the virtuosity a new rigor has sacrificed. But Artemis is their muse, with a sharp arrow for ingenuities. Artemis is out of fashion, and Miss Moore is rather a collector's item (for the *New Yorker* and George Plimpton) than reading matter. That doesn't change her work. It "will be there when the wave has gone by."

One of a Kind

WILLIAM F. RICKENBACKER

THE MORE I KNOW about my father's extraordinary life the more extraordinary it seems to me. His parents emigrated from Switzerland. His father died when he was fourteen. He quit school and went to work. He would walk eight miles to save a nickel bus fare. The glass factory, the tombstone works, the buggy company took him on. He was always ready to quit and move on to another job, very often taking a cut in pay in order to broaden his experience, and always recouping the pay cut in short order.

Rickenbacker: An Autobiography, by Edward V. Rickenbacker. Prentice-Hall, $7.95

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He kept goats, built a lawn, sold eggs, went fishin', broke all the street lamps on East Livingston Avenue in Columbus, Ohio. At the age of sixteen he was five hundred miles from home, racing automobiles on dirt tracks in Long Island. Within a few years he was nationally famous as an automobile racer.

By the time he was 25 he had traveled throughout the country selling automobiles and was about to go to England to internationalize his operations. He had meanwhile acquired a degree in automotive engineering—by correspondence. He had helped his mother and his six brothers and sisters get their feet on the ground, financially. He had carved his father's headstone.

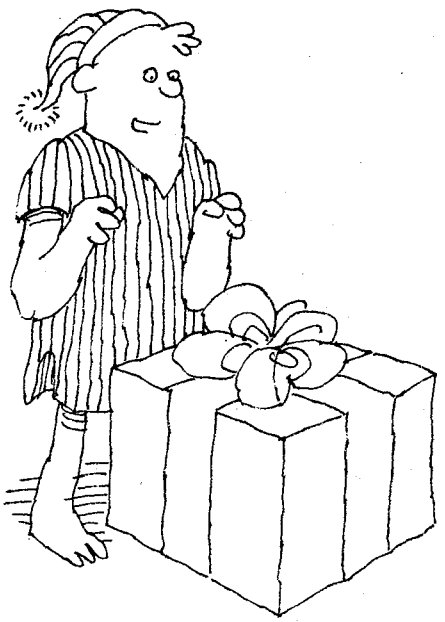
THE FIRST WORLD WAR broke out when he was in England. He went to France as a staff driver for General Pershing. By chance he was able to help General Billy Mitchell out of a mechanical jam on a back-country road in France; in return Mitchell pulled strings to get him transferred to the aviation corps. Before long he was commanding the 94th Pursuit Squadron, the famed Hat-in-the-Ring squadron. In only three or four months of active flying at the front he downed 26 enemy aircraft. In number of kills per hour of combat flight his record is unsurpassed to this day, and I doubt it will ever be touched. He returned to America as the Ace of Aces, got a ticker-tape welcome up Broadway, and embarked on a national lecture tour.

He formed the Rickenbacker Motor Company and produced one of this country's finest automobiles. He bought the Indianapolis Motor Speedway. He transferred to General Motors, and when Eastern Air Lines was being spun off he made a successful bid for control of the little airline back in 1938. During the Second World War he undertook dangerous and highly secret missions for the Secretary of War. On one trip he was downed in the Pacific and, with six others, survived three weeks of drifting in the open sea. While younger men were still recuperating, the fifty-year-old Captain Eddie walked out of the hospital and completed his mission.

At the end of 1965 he retired completely from business. In 1966 he dictated 1,600,000 words of memoirs, reminiscences, personal narrative. This volume is, though it sounds irrational to make the statement concerning a book of 450 pages, a mere introduction to one of the most fabulous lives ever lived. Since 1923 a lady known to scores of thousands of people as "Sheppy" (Miss Marguerite Shepherd) has been my father's executive assistant, and much of the brilliant documentation of these memoirs must be attributed to Sheppy's continuous supervision of the archives that have been gathering over the years.

One day in 1966 I stopped by my father's office while he was in the throes of narrating something about the early automobile racing days. He got up from his desk and took me to a large table across the office, where he showed me an enormous scrapbook filled with hundreds of newspaper clippings. I was duly impressed, but that was hardly the beginning. "There are 32 more scrapbooks just like this in the storage warehouse," said Dad. "This one is on racing only." Sheppy knew where everything was. Every letter ever received; a carbon of every letter written since 1923; books, photos, magazine articles. . . . The filing cabinets alone fill one room. It would not be out of the question to suppose that those almost two million words dictated last year include a history of automobile racing, a history of the air service, a secret diplomatic history, the story of air transportation. . . . As I say, nothing would astonish me in this extraordinary man.

The autobiography is the dictated narrative edited only enough to fit it on the page. It is the man himself, speaking to you in the husky straightforward speech of vigorous mind and fighting heart. There are hundreds of photographs, culled from hundreds of thousands, some of them never before published. Once, when I was a little boy, I asked my father to tell me the story of his life, and when he had finished I despaired of retaining so much. Now we have what most people will consider a monumental autobiography—and you know something? I wish it were twice as long!



Art

Picasso's Sculpture

RUTH BERENSON

THIS FALL New York has been treated to a lavish and varied display of contemporary sculpture. The city itself, through the Parks Department, placed thirty gigantic pieces, mostly abstract constructions, at strategic spots around Manhattan; it also mounted an invitation show, eclectic in nature, in Bryant Park behind the Public Library. (All this was supposed to publicize New York as a "cultural showcase.") The Guggenheim Museum opened its season with an international selection of 77 works from twenty countries, all produced since 1960. And the Museum of Modern Art has outdrawn all these ventures with a beautifully installed display of the sculpture of one man—Pablo Picasso.

No twentieth-century artist has generated more public controversy than Picasso, from his wartime espousal of Communism—in which he persists, though the Communists have never exhibited him—to the recent fuss made by the citizens of Chicago over the meaning of the giant steel con-

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Random Notes

● Books: Kingsley Amis has indeed stepped into Ian Fleming's shoes, as reported here months ago. First of the new Bond books is *Colonel Sun,* set in the Grecian Isles (Harper, May) and written under the pseudonym Robert Markham. . . . *Gipsy Moth Circles the World,* Sir Francis Chichester's account of his voyage, is due from Coward-McCann in February ($6.95). . . . *Plum Pie* is the first collection of P. G. Wodehouse stories in almost a decade. Many old characters return, and there is a Freddie Threepwood novelette (Simon & Schuster, $4.95).

● Prizewinner (Nobel, Lenin) Miguel Angel Asturias is due to be lapped up by all those Americans he hates. Next fall, Delacorte will publish *Viento Fuerte,* first novel in his trilogy about an Oppressed Banana Republic; already Atheneum has a new "Nobel Prize Edition" ($5) of *El Señor Presidente,* about a Corrupt Military Dictatorship, which it first published in 1964. . . . Hal Painter's *Mark I Love You,* the story of how the State of Iowa took a man's son from him for the flimsiest (and most Iowan) of reasons, is to be published at last (Simon & Schuster, January, $4.95). . . . Ron Ziel and George Foster, each of whom owns a genuine steam locomotive, have traced down every coal-burner still operating on the North American continent and written *Steam in the Sixties* (Meredith, $10).

● Yet More Books: *The German Atomic Bomb,* by David Irving, tells just how close they came to building one in World War II: uses much material hitherto unavailable (Simon & Schuster, March). . . . Valeriy Tarsis' new novel, *The Pleasure Factory,* describes suspiciously bourgeois goings-on at a State Rest and Recreation Area in the USSR (John Day, March). . . . Judith Merril has edited *Path into the Unknown,* the first anthology in English of post-Stalin Soviet science fiction (Delacorte, January, $4.95). . . . *Russia Sad and Gay,* by the exile Leonid Vladimirov[itch Finkelstein], has been postponed; will be published by Praeger in February as *The Russians* . . . Georges Simenon's latest is *Maigret Goes Home,* in which the Inspector revisits, and helps solve a crime in, the little village where he was born (Penguin, 75 cents). . . . Lyman B. Kirkpatrick Jr., once No. 3 man in The Company, tells not much in *The Real CIA*—but it's a relief from all those exposés (Macmillan, January, $6.95). . . . Frank Lloyd Wright's *The Japanese Print: An Interpretation,* long out of print, is back in all its original sumptuousness (Horizon, $30). . . . The all-new *Reader's Digest Atlas of the United States* will be published by Funk & Wagnalls in February, at $14.95.

● Monkey Business: (Swingin' Trappists Dept.): Thomas Merton, sent a routine questionnaire by his publishers, replied that his "fields of interest, hobbies, etc." are "Zen. Indians. Wood. Birds. Beer. Anglican friends. Subversive tape-recordings for nuns. Tea. Bob Dylan."

struction in front of the new Municipal Building. (The small model for it in the exhibition is a witty rendering of a woman's head which seems ill-adapted to enlargement.) Almost from the moment he began exhibiting, his paintings were revolutionary; each stage of his career has shocked the public and challenged the critics. No artist has been more widely exhibited, more scrupulously documented and explained. By now, the many ramifications of his art are familiar, but I was unprepared for the stunning impact of his sculpture, most of which, for reasons unstated, he has refused to show until now. The Modern displays it in near entirety for the first time in America. It is a revelation.

Picasso has worked at sculpture on and off most of his long life—he is now 87—in a seemingly inexhaustible variety of styles and media. He has

carved, modeled, whittled, made molds for pottery and cut out folded paper patterns for translation into metal. Sometimes his surfaces are rough, sometimes smooth, sometimes colored or covered with sketches. The show made it clear that even if he had not painted the pictures with which he revolutionized twentieth-century art, his sculpture alone would entitle him to a high, if not preeminent, place in its development.

As reflected in his sculpture, Picasso's stylistic gyrations—the various "periods" into which critics have divided his stylistic evolution—are no longer shocking. Now we can see them not as deliberate attempts at obfuscation but rather as stages in his exploration of reality and his—at times—violent emotional reactions to it. Thus, the 1905 realistic bust of a clown recalls the circus scenes of

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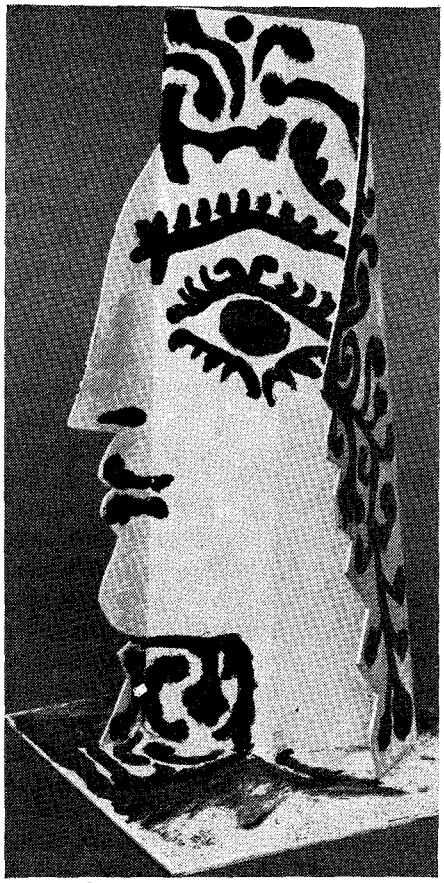
the same period; a carved squat female figure reflects his interest in African primitive sculpture; constructions made of fragments of wood, tin, cardboard and string are three-dimensional renderings of the musical instruments, bottles, portraits etc. of Cubist paintings and collages. The most spectacular objects in the show are the gigantic female heads and torsos (originally modeled in clay or plaster, now bronze-cast) dating from 1932 but reflecting the master's preoccupation with neo-Classicism during the 1920s. These archetypal earth goddesses, over life-size, at once monstrous and sensual, are a paean to Picasso's life-long love-hatred of woman, here magnified to a degree seen nowhere in his pictures.

Picasso's dichotomous view of woman—indeed, of all life—comes out most clearly in the spontaneous and intimate, often apparently trivial, pieces which he did during the war years when materials for painting and for conventional sculpture were hard to come by in occupied Paris, where even junk was at a premium. During this time and in the years immediately after, he became a kind of trash-heap gourmet, an epicurean scavenger of garbage and refuse, incorporating what he found into dolls and toys for his children as well as larger figures, animals and still lifes. The ephemeral nature of many of these objects made it necessary to cast them in bronze. Picasso's friends loaded them on wheelbarrows at night and trundled them, at the risk of



Courtesy of The Museum of Modern Art

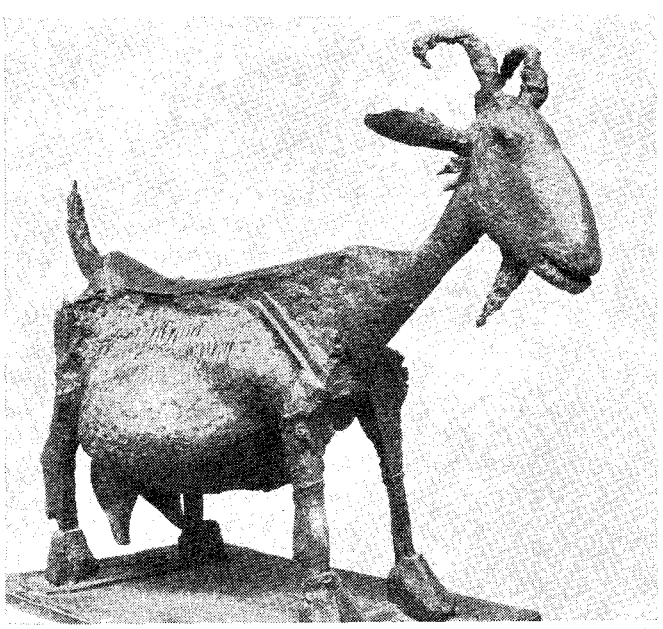
The Spanish Woman

running into German patrols, to the foundry. We can only be grateful to them.

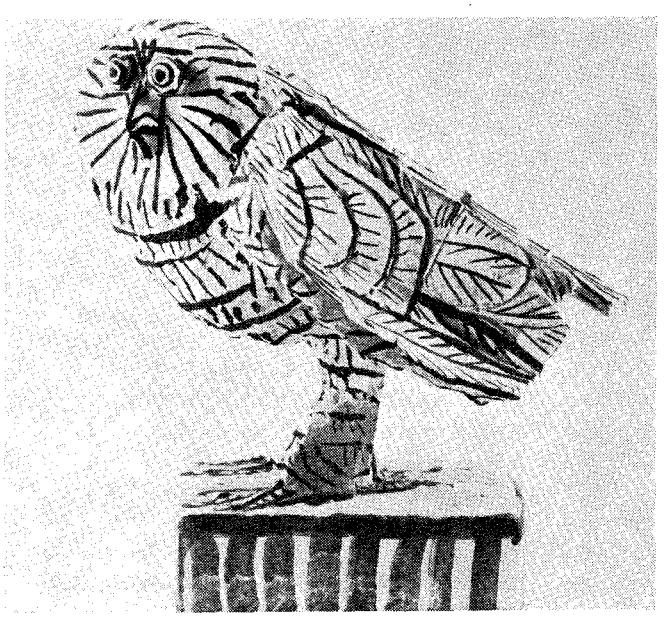
These assemblages are a logical development from the Cubist constructions, but in their incorporation of what Marcel Duchamp called "ready-mades"—everyday objects—they are clear anticipations of Pop art. Yet Pop uses such objects literally: a soup can is a soup can, nothing more or less. Picasso, however, is gifted with double vision. In his versatile hands, a bicycle seat and handlebars become the head of a bull, and his son's broken toy auto turns into the head of a mother baboon nursing her young. The blade of an old shovel serves as the tail-feathers of a strutting crane, one of whose feet is a bent fork and whose crest is a roller-skate key. Carpenter's nails are a flower's stamens, a man's arms, or the rays of light emanating from a candle. He uses junk even in large pieces: a discarded waste basket is the rib cage of the She-Goat; her teats are broken milk pitchers (what a lovely pun!), her legs thin gnarled logs, her tail a piece of braided copper wire.

Picasso's plastic punning is a way of making us see reality in new, ambiguous ways. "My sculptures are plastic metaphors," he told his former mistress, Françoise Gilot. "I'm out to fool the mind rather than the eye." Speaking of the goat's rib-cage, he explained, "One could say that the rib-cage resembles a woven wicker basket. I move from the basket back to the rib-cage: from the metaphor back to reality. The form of the metaphor may be worn out or broken, but I take it . . . and use it in such an unexpected way that it arouses a new emotion in the mind of the viewer because it momentarily disturbs his customary way of identifying and defining what he sees."

Metaphor is, of course, an impor-



She-Goat *Courtesy of The Museum of Modern Art*



Owl *Courtesy of The Museum of Modern Art*

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tant element in Picasso's painting, too, but it is perhaps easier to appreciate it in his sculpture where the deliberate ambiguities are more easily identified. As in a play on words, the viewer is at once exasperated and pleased when he finally grasps the artist's multiplicity of intention. The effort is rewarding, however: Picasso's art is never wholly divorced from reality, and to ferret out his meaning is to enhance our own ability to apprehend.

Yet if we were to judge from the Guggenheim sculpture show, Picasso, so long the trail-blazer of our century, has finally become old-fashioned. All but thirteen of the 77 sculptors are represented by abstractions. (Pop, incidentally, is conspicuously absent—a testimony to the transitory nature of art fashions in our time.) There is variety: amorphous shapes and roughened textures compete with the sleek shiny modules of the so-called "Minimalists," whose factory-executed cylinders, slabs and cubes are often so big that they impede circulation on Frank Lloyd Wright's flowing ramp. National and age distinctions are nonexistent: each work, no matter what its provenance, could have been produced anywhere in the industrialized world. The over-all impression is dull, uniform, with none of the vitality, the challenge, the humor and fantasy which make the Picasso show such a delight.

According to all reports, the old master is still hard at work. One hopefully recalls that Titian lived to be 99; his greatest canvases were those of his last years.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

YOU ARE EXTRAORDINARY, by Roger J. Williams (Random House, $5.95). The psychological and biological scientists have an apology to make. Both disciplines in the Twenties and Thirties were maintaining that environment pretty much molded and shaped up the behavioral patterns of the adult organism. Curiously, this view still prevails among the public at large, even though current psychological and biological theorists have abandoned it. Although the evidence is now conclusive that a dynamic relationship exists between the environment and the organism, with the prevailing view being that environment merely maximizes the innate capabilities of a particular organism's hereditary, or structural, properties, not many scientists publicly make the point. *You Are Extraordinary,* a book best to be remembered for its frighteningly simple statement of the issue, cites a variety of biological observations to support the argument that human beings are highly individual in their physical and mental makeup. The examples cited are usually dull (the shape of your stomach may well be different from your neighbor's), but biochemist Williams makes the point. The book would make good reading for junior and senior high school students—a group that unfortunately still expects more from their environment than from themselves.

M. GAZZANIGA

BETWEEN THE STIRRUP AND THE GROUND, by Holmes Alexander (National Press, Inc., $5.95). Holmes Alexander is something of an anomaly in the Washington press corps. Gentle in both meanings of the word, quiet, friendly to all, an unclassifiable conservative, he takes no part in the conservative-liberal warfare which seizes most correspondents. His five-times-a-week column sticks to reporting and to principle, without bile or anguish. For these qualities he is respected by his peers, who temper that somber emotion by affection for such mild eccentricities as pedaling to work on a bicycle. His achievements as one of Washington's leading conservative columnists are enhanced by a notable output of political books, novels, historical essays, plays, and even verse. This book—his fifteenth—is an autobiography. More accurately, it is the beginning of an autobiography since it only carries him through boyhood, adolescence, and young manhood. It is a low-keyed and graceful account of one man's growing up in the "horse country" of Maryland and Virginia, modestly written in the third person with his own identity, but not that of others, shielded by a fictional name. The subtitle tells the story: "A Book About Horses and People." And that is precisely what it is. There are no great disclosures to be found in it, no debunking of that class which takes its wealth for granted. There are no purple passages, no disquisitions on the urino-genital system and its functions. The book's charm lies in "Pelham Lancaster's" exciting love of horses and his fulfillment as a "gentleman jockey"—as well as its depiction of a life that is rapidly vanishing.

R. DE TOLEDANO

THE SPY IN THE CORPORATE STRUCTURE AND THE RIGHT TO PRIVACY, by Edward Engberg (World, $5.95). Here's one more complaint about our vanishing privacy and the threat of super-clever eavesdropping devices. A former staff writer for *Fortune,* Mr. Engberg commits the standard oversight in the distinction between information freely (though perhaps secretly) collected by private persons, and information coercively squeezed out of citizens by governments acting under statute law. Towards the end he has a list of sensible suggestions for strapping down the monster of a Federal Data Bank. Let it be centered in the Library of Congress. Let no one see individual dossiers without court order. Let the citizen commandeer and review his own dossier. Let the Judiciary rig up a system for correcting the records. Let all dossiers be burnt three years after demise of subject.

W. F. RICKENBACKER

YOUNG PEOPLE AND DRIVING, by Ken Purdy (John Day, $3.50). An ideal gift for the about-to-be-driver—and give it early, as soon as he starts casting long looks at the family auto and asking if he can please just start it up in the driveway. Despite its off-putting title, the book is un-preachy and plain spoken, with plenty of solid information (do *you* know the difference between understeer and oversteer, Dad?) and just enough scare-sell to get the point across: that driving, while a skill and a pleasure, is primarily a heavy responsibility to be assumed only when the driver knows exactly what he and his car can and cannot do.

P. RUGG

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The Secret Storm

ALEC WAUGH

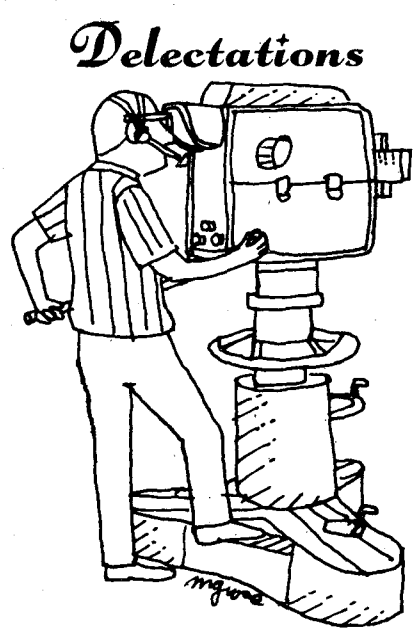
Since the end of World War II, I have spent more time in New York than anywhere. I am constantly on the move and it is with a fond sense of homecoming that on each return I see again the towers of Manhattan. My heart beats faster as I settle by my Algonquin telephone and start to call up my friends. The year has few better hours. Yet recently an alternative allegiance has been provided by the TV set. I am impatient for four o'clock, when I can switch on Channel 2 and learn what has been happening to the characters in "The Secret Storm."

I started watching it six years ago when I was wintering at the Macdowell colony. Cid Sumner, the author of *Pinky,* put me on to it. It gave her, she said, at the end of her day's work, a needed and a welcome break. It took her mind off her creative problems. She recommended it in terms of therapy. "You'll soon find out what it's all about," she said. And I soon did. The technique of writing a soap opera lies, I presume, in the capacity to devise a series of overlapping plots; while the one is working to a climax, a second is in midstream, with a third about to start, so that the newcomer finds at once something he can hold on to. Then if the characters are real, he will want to return next day.

Hugh Walpole once said to me that he would like to write a daily unending serial in which there was no climax, with situations working to a temporary pause but never to a conclusion. "That is what life is like," he said, "one thing flowing into another." And that is how it is in "The Secret Storm."

By the time my stay at the Macdowell colony was over, I had become an addict. And ever since, whenever I am in the United States, I arrange my daily schedule in accordance—3 P.M. in this state, 2 P.M. in the other—and during my times away, I keep in touch with it in the same way that I do with my acquaintances; through a friend who is herself an addict and who will add in a postcript to a letter "I know that you'll be sorry to hear that Susan lost her husband in Vietnam" or "that Kip and his father are at outs again." It has been an added bond between us.

Never have I been more impatient for four o'clock than I was early last November when I returned to this country after a five-and-a-half-months' absence. From September 1966 onwards into May I had been a writer in residence in Oklahoma. Watching my serial at least four times a week, I had got to know the characters better than I knew any of my acquaintances and I longed to be in their company again. Yet to my surprise, this time it was somehow different. I did not feel a part of it right away. There were of course new characters—a fat, middle-aged father who was practicing putts on the drawing room carpet with a Southern belle-type daughter who would not divorce a husband whom he considered worthless. But that I had expected. New faces I was prepared to welcome; but what I was not prepared for was the discovery that my friends of yesteryear were now leading completely different lives. Wendy, the high school teen-ager, was established in a bachelor girl flat; her father, Tony, a doctor, had after a stroke not only abandoned his practice but had been abandoned by his young second wife. His mother-in-law Valerie—the attractive matron who has been through six years the one constant character in the story—was in puzzling mood. It was not for several installments that I discovered that her husband had died unexpectedly and that she was in a state of shock. They were, nearly all of them, leading such different lives that they had almost become different people. (How could so much have happened in so short a time?)



Gradually I realized what the matter was. Sometimes on returning to New York after a long time away—once there was a break of fifteen months—I have been surprised to realize how many changes had taken place during the interval. But when I exclaimed "What a lot has happened" my friends would shrug. "Has it?" That's the kind of thing that one doesn't notice if one's here all the time. You need to go away, break the current. Then come back fresh, to recognize that things are different.

That was why I was puzzled during those first installments of my serial. During that eight and a half months in Oklahoma I had accepted the innumerable crises and the imminent calamities of that period as day-to-day events in the normal course of current living. Yet in fact what a lot had happened! Valerie in jail on a charge of manslaughter; her husband Peter threatened by a blackmailer; Wendy, the delicious high-school girl, falling in love with her stepmother's earlier lover; so much indeed that in retrospect it was very obvious that at least twice as much had happened during the fall and winter as had happened during those lost summer months. But I had not recognized it because the watching of the serial had become a part of my day's routine for so long that I had myself become a part of it.

Next time I shall be on my guard. I shall no more expect to find Tony, Valerie, Janet, Wendy and the rest unchanged, than I shall the real friends from whom I have been separated for half a year. Indeed Wendy and the rest have become as real to me as my real friends. On New Year's Eve when I think over all that happened to those dear to me during 1967, I shall also think of all the disappointments and disasters, the rewards and solaces that have attended the characters of "The Secret Storm."

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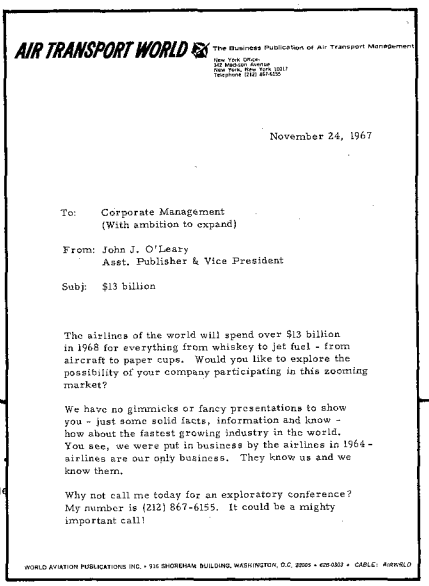

AIR TRANSPORT WORLD
The Business Publication of Air Transport Management

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November 24, 1967

To: Corporate Management
(With ambition to expand)

From: John J. O'Leary
Asst. Publisher & Vice President

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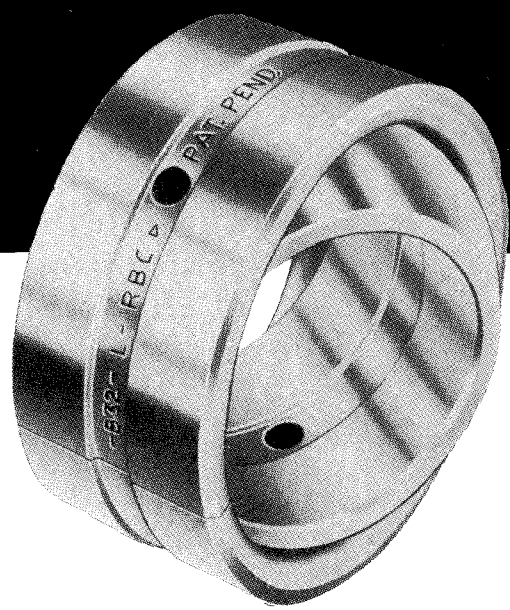

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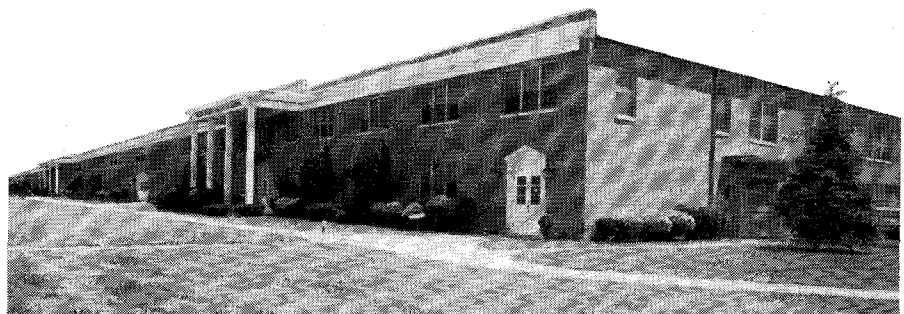

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1967

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Prepared by Patricia A. Carr, Reference Librarian

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FOR THE RECORD

■ Big labor's political muscle will be concentrated in ninety congressional districts, most of them in twelve major industrial states next year and in eight senatorial races: to help keep in office the very-threatened Senators **Gruening** of Alaska, **McGovern** of South Dakota, **Clark** of Pennsylvania, **Nelson** of Wisconsin, **Bayh** of Indiana, **Brewster** of Maryland, **Monroney** of Oklahoma. . . . House cutdown on appropriations for poverty program could be the straw **Sargent Shriver** has been looking for to get out of **LBJ** government; that plus reports that enlistments in Shriver's first baby, the Peace Corps, are off 30 per cent. . . . Will he run against **Everett Dirksen** in Illinois? Chances are good. Shriver is slightly (ever so slightly) preferred to **Adlai III** by Chicago boss Mayor **Daley**. . . . Massachusetts pols doubt Postmaster General **Larry O'Brien** will stand in for LBJ in Massachusetts primary against McCarthy. Two reasons: O'Brien doesn't want to get in wrong with **Kennedys**; he may by that time be too busy masterminding LBJ's campaign (he was the architect of **JFK**'s paperthin win over **Richard Nixon** in 1960). . . . As expected, **Paul McCloskey,** who beat out **Shirley Temple Black,** won his race against Democrat **Roy Archibald** in Dec. 12 runoff. But he may not be in Congress long. Intimates say Mrs. Black will make a fight of it against McCloskey in primary next year—at which only registered Republicans will vote.

■ Neatest argument of the year. At trial of Italian stunt parachutist **Giorgio Rinaldi** (whose arrest revealed presence of widespread Soviet espionage network in nearly every NATO country), his defense attorney admitted that Rinaldi was Russian spy, but insists he spied for his masters only while on trips to Spain. . . . Reason why Magnum, the international cooperative of photographers, dropped negotiations with Bolivian government for **Che Guevara**'s diary, more complicated than it seemed on surface. It wasn't worth the price, said Magnum, publicly, because of breakdown of international copyright laws (vide: pirating of *Death of a President* and *Twenty Letters*). Another reason: some European members of Magnum, Communists, threatened to pull out if the company tried to make money out of "a martyr's blood." . . .

■ Straight talk: **Roy Wilkins,** in his newspaper column, has in past fort-

DEVALUATION

night rebuked black powerites: "Violence as a radical policy cannot be anything except suicide"; reminded wild-eyed critics of Lyndon Johnson that "no President in history with the possible exception of Abraham Lincoln, has done more for the generality of Negro citizens"; blasted Negro athletes who talk of boycotting the Olympics: "Their white fellow citizens will wonder how a refusal to use talent can possibly help the crusade against bigotry." . . . **Stokely Carmichael** fans had trouble last week finding taxis back from JFK airport, where they trooped to greet him on his return. Many cabbies turned on "off duty" sign rather than "ride traitors."

■ Year-enders: in 1967, U.S. population hit 200 million mark and for the first time had more people (67 million) living in suburbs than in cities (63 million). . . . The number of poor (poor as certified by HEW Under Secretary of Health **Wilbur Cohen**) has dropped to 30 million (from 39 million in 1959—ha, ha, last Republican Administration); in 1968, it should drop to 25 million, says Cohen. . . . Traffic deaths were down .03 per cent from 1966 (could **Ralph Nader** be right?). . . . And right-thinking Americans were being exhorted (by the War Registers League) to put their Christmas gift money into Peace Calendars for 1968.

■ Three statements to cheer the New Year in:

1) From the British Public Transport and Traffic White Paper: "Some rail services which are at present not paying their way may become profitable if bus services are organized so as to make it more convenient to use rail."

2) From **Patrick Nugent**, **LBJ**'s *other* son-in-law, when asked if he had taken any graduate course at the U. of Texas this fall: "I don't see how I can. I don't have time with all the boards of directors I'm on."

3) **Jacob Javits**, at dinner for Jacob Javits, when asked about **Richard Nixon** as Presidential candidate: "I don't want to give the implication that that's what I favor. It isn't. But I do not feel that Mr. Nixon is a candidate whom, in good conscience, I couldn't support, as I did not support Barry Goldwater." (For which we award Mr. Javits first prize in the First Annual "I didn't say that I said I didn't say it. I said that I didn't say that I said it. I want to make that very clear" Contest.)

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TRANS-O-GRAM

by Svend Petersen

DEFINITIONS

A. Easily accessible

B. What National Review wishes all its readers!

C. Experienced

D. Took down a speech in writing

E. A device for gripping something

F. What some days are for Jews

G. Interrogatory propounded by a little girl—it became famous

H. English firm mentioned in a famous short story

I. The most famous of William Sidney Porter's short stories

J. Unscramble TENT TOOTH

K. Poet who wrote "Just 'Fore Christmas"

L. One of Babe Ruth's outfield partners with the Yankees

WORDS

13 41 50 62 67 69 135 152 157 172

22 126 143 163 216 218 226 30 224 5 139

153

24 130 170 63 76 189 96 191 1

32 28 205 144 109 54 202 192

38 86 117 120 195 201

44 181 95 39 88 59 117 148

70 26 42 66 77 92 100 104 168 174 184

200 213 141 149 161 164 203

74 158 178 222 228 20 23 56 58 73 99

122 127 210 212 132

87 2 10 51 111 133 146 150 83 91 166

171 155 84 220 6

103 93 43 128 199 29 136 154 179

106 68 79 89 94 121 138 169 188 12 114

123 129 175 137

DEFINITIONS

M. Desire for some advantage possessed by another

N. You can sing this or you can read it

O. Unscramble DAN'S VIEW

P. The first or second appearance of Christ

Q. An unreal, imaginary, or ideal state, condition, or place

R. A device set up in an entrance to bar passage until a charge is paid

S. Repeated rotation

T. An English family of locksmiths

U. Town in Sac County, Iowa

V. Creator

W. To supply mentally an omitted word or phrase needed to complete the meaning

X. A type of hat

WORDS

145 64 15 142

156 160 173 198 11 46 65 55 124 90 176

183 207 14 33

165 35 217 140 230 194 112 45

167 185 151 72 78 47

182 3 9 16 48 57 61 107 206 147 221

8 25 34

196 204 17 101 97 75 187 118 113

209 85 98 108 223 229 180 215 18 31 40

115 36 197 211 225

131 227 21 80 49 162

134 177 102 81 116 60

214 19 119 159 4 53 71 190 208 219

7 105 82 186 27 125 37 193 52

See page 1440 for solution of last Trans-O-Gram.

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, blank boxes indicating the end of a word); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of Webster's New International Dictionary, Second Edition.

				1 C	2 I	3 Q	4 W	5 B		6 I	7 X		8 Q		9 Q	10 I	11 N
12 K		13 A	14 N	15 M	16 Q	17 R	18 S	19 W	20 H		21 U	22 B	23 H		24 C	25 Q	26 G
27 X	28 D	29 J		30 B	31 S	32 D	33 N	34 Q		35 O	36 T	37 X	38 E	39 F		40 S	41 A
42 G		43 J	44 F	45 O		46 N	47 P	48 Q	49 U	50 A	51 I	52 X	53 W	54 D		55 N	56 H
57 Q		58 H	59 F	60 V		61 Q	62 A	63 C	64 M		65 N	66 G	67 A		68 K	69 A	70 G
71 W	72 P	73 H		74 H	75 R	76 C	77 G	78 P	79 K	80 U	81 V		82 X	83 I		84 I	85 S
86 E		87 I	88 P	89 K		90 N	91 I	92 G	93 J	94 K	95 F	96 C	97 R	98 S		99 H	100G
101R		102V	103J	104G	105X		106K	107Q	108S	109D		110F	111I	112Q	113R	114K	
115T	116V	117E	118R	119W		120F	121K	122H	123L		124N	125X	126B	127H	128J		129L
130C	131U	132H		133I	134V	135A	136J	137L		138K	139B	140Q	141G	142M		143B	144D
145M	146I	147Q	148F		149G	150I	151P	152A		153B	154J	155I	156N	157A	158H	159W	
160N	161G	162U		163B	164G	165Q	166I		167P	168G	169K	170C	171I		172A	173N	174G
175L		176N	177V	178H	179J	180S	181F	182Q		183N	184G	185P		186X	187R	188K	189C
	190W	191C	192D		193X	194Q	195E	196R	197T	198N	199J		200G	201E	202D		203G
204R	205D	206Q	207N	208W	209S	210H		211T	212H	213C	214W	215S	216B		217Q	218B	219W
	220I	221Q	222H	223S	224B		225T	226B	227U	228H	229S	230Q					

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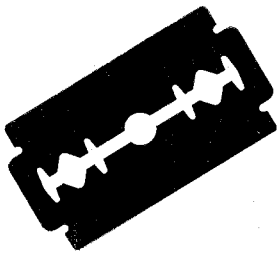
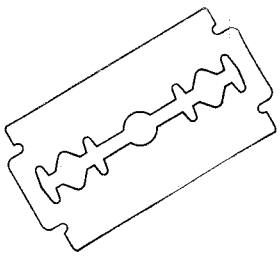
End of the Blues:



Blue two timer

"Inexpensive" carbon steel blades give most men only 1 or 2 shaves. They seem cheaper, but actually cost more per shave.



Spoiled me too-er

The "Me too-er" brand reluctantly followed Schick's American leadership in stainless steel, but massive advertising cannot overcome the comfort of the molecular Miron® Coating on the Krona edge.

Lasting Friend

With stainless steel technology initially developed in our Swedish Plant, Schick Science perfected the famous thousand foot strop, the molecular Miron Coating, and the Krona® Comfort Edge to assure you consistent comfort shave after shave. They're Lasting Friends– the kind you'll always feel comfortable with.

Put your reliance on famous Schick Science.

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